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*Shamirany, the Capital of Shantistan.*

Engraved by T. H. H. H.









**A**  
**VOYAGE**  
**UP**  
**THE PERSIAN GULF,**  
**AND A**  
**JOURNEY OVERLAND**  
**FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND,**  
**IN 1817.**

**CONTAINING NOTICES OF**  
**ARABIA FELIX, ARABIA DESERTA, PERSIA, MESOPOTAMIA,**  
**THE GARDEN OF EDEN, BABYLON, BAGDAD,**  
**KOORDISTAN, ARMENIA, ASIA MINOR,**  
**&c. &c.**

NEW YORK  
PUBLIC  
LIBRARY

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**BY LIEUTENANT WILLIAM HEUDE,**  
**OF THE MADRAS MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.**

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**1819.**

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL FITZWILLIAM,

*&c. &c. &c.*

MY LORD,

On my return overland from India, in the happy and peaceful leisure I enjoyed under the hospitable roof of the kind protector of my youth, the arrangement of the notes I had taken on my travels was first suggested by yourself, and by those learned friends whose acquaintance, with many favours, I am proud to hold at Your Lordship's hands.

Had I therefore no previous obligations to acknowledge, a work that owes its birth to the condescending encouragement I then received, would naturally belong to the generous friend who brought me up, and to whom,

with my kind aunt, Lady Charlotte Wentworth, I am indebted for those advantages which I enjoy.

I shall not weary Your Lordship with the expression of that gratitude which lives within my breast, for as my thanks can but ill express the tribute of my heart, so in the placid and contented serenity of Your Lordship's demeanour, the pleasing recollections attendant on a life devoted to every good and every honourable purpose may easily be traced, as its own, and most assured reward.

May that happiness, My Lord, be continued to the latest moment: the proud consciousness of inborn worth, would I know sooth the trial, if it were crossed with adversity. But that Your Lordship's happiness and health, with those of your amiable family, may prove as constant and permanent as your virtues have deserved, shall ever be felt the first, and most sincere wish, of

Your Lordship's

Most obedient

And obliged humble servant,

W. HEUDE.

## PREFACE.

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As this is the first time of my adventuring myself on the opinion of the public, I am not exactly aware of the degree of importance that can entitle a work to the advantages of a proemial discourse; it is, therefore, more in deference to my readers than to the work itself, I esteem it necessary to premise, that a *simple introduction* is the end I have in view: whilst in the following pages, a plain narration of facts must have been my only purpose, had I consulted my own inclinations in describing what I have seen.

Amongst the indulgent friends, however, whose kind encouragement suggested the undertaking, a very great variety of feelings of interest and curiosity, has led me to extend my views; as I found I could not otherwise have embraced their different tastes, or satisfied their favourite enquiries.

A presumption, of which I feel the weight, whenever I diverge from the direct course I had originally laid down for the arrangement of my notes, will, I trust, therefore, meet with some indulgence; for if I have soared above my strength, it has only been *in my anxiety to please*. Bred in camps from my fifteenth year, I should not otherwise have ventured on the most distant approach to learned disquisition or historical relation: I hope, however, that where I have transgressed the bounds of my own diffidence, I shall not be found, on

the whole, entirely incorrect. I have endeavoured to compensate the want of erudite knowledge, by the assiduousness of my researches.

I performed the journey entirely *alone*, and under some *disadvantages*, at a period when it was attended with additional hazards and difficulties from the turbulence of the times ; but when these disadvantages (as I must think) were amply compensated by the interest that belongs to one of those great struggles for authority, which it so seldom falls to the province of the traveller to witness and relate. In the preparation of my materials, I have been equally without assistance ; though I have availed myself of the best information I could obtain, whenever it has been conformable to my own observations ; but never otherwise. I advance few things, I believe, with confidence, that are not thus supported ; whilst, on the other hand, I trust I may avoid the mention of whatever I cannot personally vouch for, without incurring the imputation of absolute ignorance or neglect.

In some parts of the following work, I may perhaps be thought to ~~contradict myself~~, when I venture to report what was said to me in the ~~Arabic~~ <sup>Arabic</sup> ~~language~~, I must confess, I do not understand. It is requisite, therefore, I should premise, that I was generally accompanied by an Arab servant, who spoke Hindoostanee with considerable fluency ; and that, as I had previously amused myself at times by looking over my Persian vocabulary, I devoted the five months I spent in these provinces to the acquirement of the little Turkish I might require in cases of emergency. It was very little, most certainly, that I could, after all, boast of knowing of either of these languages : their affinity to the Hindoostanee is not unknown ; but to the philologist it may be a matter of some interest to be informed, that it was in Koordistan I found my Hindoostanee of the greatest use ; one half or three-fourths of the proper names of things, in par-

ticular, being very similar in both these dialects. That they are derived from the same root is beyond a doubt, and that the ear of the traveller is often assisted by the presence of the object that is named, may equally be allowed; the fact, however, still remains the same; and without any *direct* intercourse, or *immediate connection* of origin or history we are *positively* acquainted with, the Koordish is to the full as similar to the Hindoostanee as the Persian has generally been esteemed.

## THE TRAVELLER.

But me, not destined such delights to share,  
My prime of life in wandering spent and care;  
Impell'd with steps unceasing to pursue  
Some fleeting good, that mocks me with the view:  
That, like the circle bounding earth and skies,  
Allures from far, yet, as I follow, flies;  
My fortunes lead to traverse realms alone,  
And find no spot of all the world my own.





## CONTENTS.

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### CHAP. I.

**Introductory. — Observations on the present State of Malabar, and the Changes effected in the Condition of the Natives by the Establishment of British Authority. — Advantages and Evils attendant on the Change, &c. &c.** Page 1.

### CHAP. II.

**Departure from Cannanore, Indian Pattamara. — Mangalore, Cadree Hills, Ancient Cells and remarkable Caves : inflexible Character of the Hindoo Anchorite ; Danger of Interference. — Onore, Contai, Sedasseerghur, Goa, Geria, and Bombay ; present State of that Establishment, &c. &c.** 9

### CHAP. III.

**Departure from Bombay, Coast of Arabia Felix, Devil's Gap, Maskat, Excursion into the Interior, dangerous Situation of the Ship.—Voyage up the Gulf, Mutiny on board, Ormus, the Pirates, Madness of our Captain. — Arrival at Busheer, Observations made there ; Karrack ; Pearl Fishery ; Arrival at Bussora : its present State, &c. &c.** 17

### CHAP. IV.

**Departure from Bussora. — Voyage up the Shat ul Arab. — Korna. — The Garden of Eden.— The Euphrates. — Three Weeks' Residence amongst the Bedooina. — Occurrences in the Desert, and on the Road.—Wassut and Hye.— Meeting with the Arabian Army ; the Order of their March described. — Conduct of my Turk. — Arrival on the Site of Babylon.** 52

### CHAP. V.

**Babylon, Observations on its former State and present Nothingness.— Occurrences on the Road to Bagdad. — Seleucia. — Ctesiphon. — Canals. — Ruins. — Arrival at Bagdad.** 92

## CHAP. VI.

Arabia, Features of the Country; Dangers and Illusions of the Desert. — The Bedooins; their Character, Manners, Customs, Nobility, Treatment of Women, &c. &c.—Remarks on the Camel and the Arabian Horse; its Fitness for our Cavalry investigated. Page 116

## CHAP. VII.

Summary Review of the History of Bagdad, as a Pashalik of the Turkish Empire, from the Year 1638 (being the 1048 of the Hegira); when it was retaken from the Persians by Sultan Amurat: continued to the present Day. 138

## CHAP. VIII.

Preliminary Observations. — Occurrences at Bagdad during our Stay. — Progress of the Siege. — Deposition and Death of Sayud Pasha.—Our Introduction to Daood Effendi. — Description of the City, Government, Manners, characteristic Anecdotes, &c. &c. 160

## CHAP. IX.

Departure from Bagdad. — Journey into the Mountains of Koordistan. — Remarkable Pass into the Valley of Sullimaney.—Adventures on the Road. — Robbers. — Fight.—Retreat of Heraclius through Koordistan. — Rivers. — Descent into the Plain. — Koceesinjak. — Koordish Manners, Character, and Customs. — Arrival at Erbil. — Ceremony of opening and reading the Imperial Firman, and Proclamation of Daood Effendi. — Karakoosh; and Arrival at Mosul. 189

## CHAP. X.

Mosul; traces of ancient Nineveh, &c. &c. — Present State of this City and its Inhabitants. — Journey across the small Desert to Nisibin, and Occurrences on the Road. — Nisibin famous in the History of the Roman Wars.— Cassir Jehan; Dara. — Arrival at Merdin. — Observations made there. — A short Account of the Zezidees or Devil-worshippers. 217

## CHAP. XI.

Merdin to Constantinople, and Occurrences on the Road. 230

A

# VOYAGE

UP

## THE PERSIAN GULF.

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### CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF MALABAR, AND THE CHANGES EFFECTED IN THE CONDITION OF THE NATIVES BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH AUTHORITY.—ADVANTAGES AND EVILS ATTENDANT ON THE CHANGE, &c. &c.

A TRAVELLER is sometimes allowed to speak of himself; and as some of my readers will be apt to blame the choice of a journey overland, and to prefer the snug cabin and complete accommodations of an Indiaman, to the desert and an Arab pad; it may not be amiss to premise: That having entered the army at fifteen, and served a rough probation of thirteen years, I felt equal to an undertaking, which is commonly supposed to require a considerable degree of physical hardiness. The times, indeed, were extremely favourable; and the last argument of princes having for once been attended with salutary effects, I commenced the journey under the auspices of a general peace, and nearly general tranquillity. Whenever the like coincidence of times and circumstances, of habits and inclinations, shall arise; I trust the following representation of men and manners, of countries, and the peculiar incidents of a journey overland, will be allowed, at the worst, the humble merit of a strict adherence to truth, and fidelity of narration.

B

My regiment was stationed at Cannanore at the time I obtained my furlough ; I shall therefore begin my journal with such cursory observations on the present state of Malabar, and the condition of its inhabitants under our government, as will not, I trust, entirely fail in conveying to others, the interest I personally feel. I write, indeed, only as I feel, noticing those objects especially that have peculiarly attracted my attention.

Malabar, the usual appellation of the western coast of the peninsula, though its parts are more particularly distinguished, is a country too well known and too often described, to render a hasty delineation acceptable to the well-informed. Its romantic beauties, its wealth, fertility, and general importance ; its lofty mountains, fruitful valleys, and populous towns ; might indeed deserve, and would abundantly assist, the highest descriptive powers of the pencil or the pen. Nature throughout, it would indeed appear, has been too much lost in the mightiness of the work, to spare a moment in softening the stroke that marks sublimity. The mountain towers above the cloud, the abyss sinks into a fearful giddy depth. The loftiest wood crowns the boldest cliff ; the chasm frowns, and the cataract, rushing impetuously, threatens destruction to the smiling vale that opens its bosom to receive its spell-bound, and now sportive stream. Watered by the mountain-rivulet, and diversified by every variety of landscape, the country below the Ghaut presents an aspect as smiling and delightful as the other is sublime ; a genial clime completes the perfection of the whole ; and if the rains are peculiarly severe, it must be allowed, the extremes of heat and cold are commonly more moderate than in equal or superior latitudes.

Possessed of these advantages, and enriched by the variety and abundance of its productions, a considerable trade promotes the general industry ; and the revenues of Malabar, have accordingly been calculated to be more than adequate to the expenses of its civil and military establishments. Whilst, however, so many, and more accurate sources of information must be acknowledged to exist ; it will, I trust, be allowed, the detail may be omitted, in favour of

a cursory review of those changes, which have been the consequence of its original transfer, and present subjection to the British authority.

The Malabar coast, once the scene of the proudest successes of Portugal ; is still inhabited by a motley race, the descendants of the motley progeny that claim an ambidextrous title to the honor of this once mighty name. Of these it may generally be observed, as of the native Christians of Malabar in general, that they are not quite so despicable and profligate a race, as their brethren of the other coast have frequently been regarded. Indeed, a general aptitude to improvement appears throughout their character ; and if the persecutions they once endured be candidly considered, we may discern in that degree of activity which they now display, the natural and unrepressed consequences of a change of government and more assured security. It is not, however, from any established respectability of character, or from its numbers, that this doubtful race has acquired a prior claim to our attention ; the distinction is only due to the more perceptible effects of a change, that may eventually be attended with the most important consequences and improvements. The state of this, (and it is certainly a fast increasing) portion of the population, may evidently be deserving of the attention of the legislature ; it may approve itself eventually the fountain or the poison of our strength ; but as the enquiry is beyond my present purpose, I shall content myself with marking the change.

In India, where religion has been rendered subservient to the purposes of an artful policy ; where the book that inculcates particular doctrines equally regulates the conduct of man in the most common offices of society ; where the Koran or the Vedas, and the commentaries on both, contain the only rule of faith, the only law of inheritance, and of civil and criminal jurisprudence ; where religion, climate, and prejudice, combine for the stability of the work ; it might naturally be supposed, that a change of masters, and the introduction of a foreign polity, could scarcely have been productive of those alterations which I think we may discern. We have seen,

where a neighbouring country was subdued; that the conqueror, gradually adopting, and imperceptibly assimilating himself to the manners and habits of his more polished subjects, became in time identified and lost, in the superior numbers of the subdued, and the controlling influence of a superior policy. The Chinese, however, it must be allowed, were always a more civilized nation than their Tartarian conquerors. With ourselves, from the beginning, it was certainly the reverse; as I believe it will be acknowledged, that we entered India with those advantages, of lights more extended and improved, which secured us the ascendance in arts and manners, as well as in arms. Whilst in India, therefore, the natural tendency of a change of government, in respect to the manners and habits of the population, may have been assisted by the paramount influence of a superior nation and more cultivated race; it is only in Malabar, perhaps, that the effect is fully visible, and beyond the cavils of scepticism itself.

Throughout the British possessions in Malabar, the lordly Namboory no longer rules it (as has so often been described), the arbiter of fate. The injured patient supplicating Teeaar, no longer shrinks abashed from the stern gaze of his oppressor; nor falls beneath his ruthless arm, for the venial transgression, of having encountered, or profaned by contact, this sacred personage. The haughty Mahomedan no longer reaps with the cimeter, to recruit his armies or to propagate his faith; but, protected by an equal rule, a simple peaceful race enjoys the fruits of its labours in tranquillity, and is insensibly acquiring that share of wealth and consideration, which it so well deserves. Whilst the Nair, therefore, (who shrinks from an intimate connection with Europeans, as from pollution itself,) is gradually retiring to the more peaceful labours of the fields, and progressively withdrawing himself from the vicinity of our settlements; whilst the Mussleman is restrained in the exuberance of his pride, the inferior casts, it may be observed, generally improving in their condition, stimulated to exertion by security, and rising into comparative affluence, no longer brook those invidious and outward distinctions, which so long denoted their inferior consequence and abject state.

The Nair has not lost much in being restrained in the violent and sanguinary assertion of his privileges ; and still less, though it may mortify his pride, in sharing with others those honorary distinctions, he had once esteemed peculiar to himself. Still exalted above the common race, and secured in his eminence by those rules that forbid intermarriages with an inferior cast, he enjoys a share of personal consideration, which, if he seeks it, may often lead to wealth and the highest offices. In the accumulation and display of this wealth, in common with the inferior casts, the Mahomedans, and the Moplars, he is no longer restrained by the prudential consideration of its insecurity ; and accordingly it may generally be observed, that as this security is felt, (giving life to industry and spirit to exertion,) a considerable degree of political liberty has been introduced (in respect to the superior classes) at the cost only of greater personal restraint. On the effects of this change, of this increase of civil freedom, at the expense of personal liberty, and as it affects public opinion or individual feeling, it is difficult to speak. The hour of adversity, perhaps, may solve the doubt ; but until it arrives, we may safely conclude, that whilst the man of wealth and the inferior orders rejoice in their security, the disaffected are chiefly those who, in the contrast, feel the distinctions of their birth abridged, without having arrived at that consideration which affluence so commonly bestows. To these, the road to wealth is still open and secure ; they may still pursue the path with very superior advantages : but, as they cannot so readily assimilate, they naturally feel degraded by that equal rule, which, (protecting all and overlooking particular distinctions,) they frequently arraign, as wanting in vigour and efficiency.

That the perfection of our civil establishment, is far below the eminence which our military system has attained, is what I believe I may venture to assert, without deserving the imputation of partiality. Its defects, however, and the complaints which its imperfections may justify, should not in candour be attributed to any want of zeal or ability in those who are employed in this department. The civil servants of the Company, (I speak of the establishment in general,) with the advan-



ages of a superior and finished education, are frequently remarkable for their zeal, their application, and their industry. That exceptions may exist, where a lucrative situation and duty cannot arouse from a most shameful indolence, and stimulate to exertion, is a melancholy truth which I think we must allow. As this is not however the natural, though it may become the forced character, of this respectable body, I believe we shall find the solution in the comparative imperfection and general insufficiency of the government they administer, and the system they dispense. To what else can it be owing, I would demand, that whilst every thing which may depend on our military power is readily achieved, there should be so much wanting, so much undone, and so many improvements necessary to the interior perfection of our civil establishments? From whence do the difficulties of the collection so frequently arise? Whence is it, that the cultivator so oft forsakes his fields, and refuses to cultivate? Whence the daily necessity of calling in the aid, or requiring the presence of a military force, to insure the collection of the revenues, and the payments that are due by the zemindars? Who, that has visited the civil stations, and beheld the crowds of naked wretches huddled together in their melancholy gaols, breathing a pestiferous atmosphere, could for a moment suppose, that the want of a police is still a general and a just subject of complaint? He indeed, that had beheld these things, and numbered those thousands throughout India, who are doomed to chains and manacles; might believe that delinquency itself had been rooted from the face of the earth, and removed (for the advantage of mankind) to these melancholy abodes. The picture is not exaggerated, it is a faithful likeness; and whilst such things are, if the fault is not in the agent, we may justly attribute these imperfections to the government itself. Peace, and security from foreign invasions, are indeed the great advantages the Company's possessions have obtained; but these we owe to the vigour of our military policy, to the efficiency of our military establishments, and to the success of our arms.

The greater perfection of our military system in India, arises from its simplicity, its unity, and greater vigour of action and execution. In all these requisites, our civil rule and civil polity, may be esteemed deficient. It must, however, be recollected, that our military system is original and self-derived, uncorrupted in the practice, by the introduction of any eastern theory; unshackled in the execution, by the tolerance of any local prejudice of controlling influence. Our interior civil polity from the beginning, was grounded on a less assured foundation; and as a total change in the military system is more easily effected, than any general alteration in the civil departments of the state, so in India, in particular, it became necessary to assimilate, and to conform the practice, to those received opinions, and to that general feeling, which custom, religion, and prejudice, had combined to perpetuate. Our civil regulations, accordingly, frequently betray the confusion, of an heterogeneous mass of crude materials; equally wanting in simplicity and consistency of selection, in unity, vigour, and efficiency. In some districts, the amount of the collection is regulated by the produce of the earth, and varies accordingly; in others, it is fixed. In some provinces it is paid immediately to the collector; in others, through the zemindar. The practice of our civil courts is equally uncertain and incomplete, varying in its forms and slow in its effects; the Koran, the Vedabs, and the commentaries on both, are equally esteemed as the rule of judgment; and are again modified by special regulations, and the paramount superiority of our code in criminal affairs. The result may be surmised. Where simplicity and unity of action are essentially requisite, the police is equally wanting in vigour and effect; whilst justice (naturally slow in the process) is frequently arraigned, as tardy in its operations, beyond the advantages of a competent redress.

In speaking of those changes that have attended the perfect establishment of a foreign government, and a change of masters, I have confined myself to Malabar and the western coast; in attempting the parallel, however, that was necessary to the understanding of the

feeling which these alterations have produced ; I have taken a partial view of British India in general, to avoid the invidiousness of those particular applications that might, though unintended, have been assumed. The picture, I trust, is neither forced, nor easily misunderstood ; as the enquiry (however pursued), may justly be esteemed of greater importance and interest, than a bare detail of facts, or a mere diary of events.

## CHAPTER II.

DEPARTURE FROM CANNANORE, INDIAN PATTAMARS. — MANGALORE, CADREE HILLS, ANCIENT CELLS AND REMARKABLE CAVES: INFLEXIBLE CHARACTER OF THE HINDOO ANCHORITE; DANGER OF INTERFERENCE. — ONORE, CONTAI, SEEDASSEERGHUR, GOA, GERIA, AND BOMBAY; PRESENT STATE OF THAT ESTABLISHMENT, &c. &c.

**T**HE violence of the monsoon in Malabar has commonly abated by the end of August or the middle of September; and it was in September that I took my passage on board a wretched pattamar, proceeding to Mangalore. An Indian pattamar, is perhaps of all others, the most miserable, noisome bark that sails the seas. It is usually seasoned with quantities of rancid oil, covered with half-putrid salt fish, and affords no shelter beyond a few cajans, that are carelessly disposed to form a roof. The future traveller may, however, comfort himself with the certainty, that other opportunities are seldom wanting, if he has only the patience to wait for them. As this happened not to be my case, I suffered accordingly; was drenched incessantly for fourteen hours, and after encountering a storm, that broke our yard and destroyed our rigging, arrived at Mangalore.

Beyond what may have been said of it, by former travellers, Mangalore at present is chiefly to be noticed, as the principal emporium of any direct trade that is carried on from the Persian Gulf to the dependencies of Madras. A great proportion of the Arabian and Persian horses from Bussora and Busheer, which are intended for that establishment, and the peninsula in general, are commonly landed at Mangalore; a few of those rejected in the Bombay market are also imported; whilst the Dekan in general, and its northern provinces, are usually supplied through the medium of that presidency. A few bags of dates, copper from Diarbekir, pearls, and Turkois, are also brought; and a direct intercourse subsisting with

Bombay and the northern ports, Mangalore may be esteemed a convenient point of departure, on account of the various facilities which it affords.

The Cadree hills, and its caves, are the only objects deserving the notice of the traveller: the pagoda, which marks the holiness of the spot, is situated at the bottom of the hill, and provided with a number of tanks, for the performance of the necessary ablutions. On the ascent, and to the left of the road, a fountain issues from the rock, and pours forth a considerable stream of the purest water; beyond this, and on the right, we passed a number of small caves or cells, which in their days had each their holy man, whose name they still retain. A narrow well on the summit of the hill was the next remarkable spot we visited; remarkable, not in itself, but on account of the strange fancy a devotee once indulged, of suspending himself above its brink for near thirty years; the only relaxation this miserable enthusiast allowed himself, was the occasional resting of his foot upon the rocks; and certainly the print which it has worn sufficiently marks his perseverance and fanaticism, as it must have been the work of many years. The extreme summit is occupied by a number of small pagodas or cells, that are built of stones, and that are each eight or ten feet square; it is below these, and half-way round the hill, that the principal cave has been excavated. It consists of two small apartments, besides recesses, that are joined by a short low passage, and entered by a narrow door. The Bramins informed us, that an inner and much larger cave had been closed up by the collector, some twenty years before, on account of the tigers and other wild animals it frequently concealed. An inspection of the rock convinced us to the contrary, and we retired as assured of this, as amused with the extravagance of their assertions regarding one of the passages; which they informed us would lead to the famed Benares. The wily Bramin, in this, however, was perfectly correct; the passage would lead to Benares, though it is a distance of many hundred miles: but any other semi-elliptical passage, with an entrance at either extremity, would do the same.

The Bramins are fond of allegory and obscure allusions that are capable of various interpretations, exciting wonder without violating truth; they are frequently unable to solve the metaphor, and adopt it in a literal sense; but I believe a number of the wonders they relate, might be explained with equal facility. The spot I have described, is in my opinion chiefly deserving of attention, on account of the picture which we may form from it, of the manners and habits of the extraordinary community that must once have occupied those narrow cells, of which an ancient venerable Biragie is now the only tenant who pretends to superior sanctity. He came, as he informed us, from Benares, and had in his youth been a soldier of some celebrity; he had viewed the pomp of war, and had reposed beneath the shadow of the spear; he felt pleased in the relation, and age, that had unnerved his strength, had scarcely extinguished the lightning of his eye. His figure was commanding and dignified, and near a hundred summers had blanched his venerable locks. Holy was his calling, and sacred was the spot: fancy could scarce have dwelt in more romantic scenes.

The penances, which our Hindoo devotees frequently impose upon themselves, to obtain superior sanctity, or to expiate some venial or imaginary sin, have been frequently described, but never (if I may judge from my own knowledge) exaggerated in the relation of the miseries they patiently endure when urged by the spirit of religious fanaticism. At our own presidency, it is generally known, that a Faqueer was formerly exhibited, whose clenched fist upheld above his head, had at last become so fixt in this attitude, that his arm could never again be brought to resume its natural position; whilst his nails had actually grown through the palm of his hand, and encircled his uplifted arm down to the elbow. At the great pagoda of Jaggurnaut, I have also seen the Hindoo devotee stretched at his length on a plank thickly studded with iron spikes, the points of which formed the surface his body rested on. Another enthusiast I once met in my travels, was measuring his length from Benares to Jaggurnaut, a distance of 600 miles; he had been three years on the journey, and had only advanced 100 miles within the year in this laborious exercise; a friend of mine having met him on his road some months before.

They frequently expire in the endurance of these unnatural severities ; and I have heard of one, released much against his will when Colonel Harcourt took Cuttack, who had for twenty years been incarcerated in a small cell of masonry, only four feet high and two feet broad. Such is the spirit of a religion which our missionaries, with their pigmy strength, are endeavouring to overturn. Words, in fact, cannot express the patience that is displayed in these voluntary expiations. We may turn away with disgust from those mistaken unnatural principles, which give occasion to the vow ; but it is impossible not to admire the firm resolution that is evinced in its fulfilment. When therefore these assuming and meddling intruders, many of whom are sprung from the lowest ranks of society, and are a disgrace to the calling which they profess, can display an equal degree of fortitude and faith in expiating their own transgressions, then, and not before, may their labours in the vineyard be attended with success. Extended on his bed of iron, for years immovably fixed in the most uneasy position he can assume, the Hindoo devotee will until then maintain the superiority of the atonement he imposes upon himself ; and, in utter derision, will boldly urge the test. Are they prepared for the trial ? With all their professions, will they abide the chance ? or stand by the responsibility incurred, when religious frenzy shall burst asunder the bonds of opinion, and India shall be lost ? The strong hold of our government in the East is *religious tolerance* ; our conduct in this respect being frequently compared with that of the Mahomedans and the Portuguese ; and shall we lose the advantage of the comparison ? Shall we embrace the pillars of our strength to shake the edifice to the ground ; to destroy the work that is the glory of our times ? Our religion certainly inculcates the obligation of endeavouring to convert *to ways of righteousness and peace* ; but the argument (if an argument were intended) might rest upon these grounds : That, in point of fact, the attempt at conversion in India is only productive of the most opposite results ; the outcast, embracing the mysteries of our faith, only that he may indulge with the greater freedom in those vices and corruptions, which are more especially forbidden by his own stricter rules.

On the 3d of October, having fortunately joined company with an old acquaintance, we engaged for our passage on board a large pat-tamar, proceeding on a coasting voyage to Bombay; taking the precaution of specifying the time when she was to sail, the ports she was allowed to visit, and the length of her stay at each; a precaution indispensable on all occasions of the kind, to avoid unnecessary delays. On the evening of the 4th, we left Mangalore, in virtue of our caution, as it was very certainly against the owner's will, who only wished to profit at our expense. On the 7th we encountered a brisk gale during the night, and were drenched to the skin of course. Having passed Onore, a station for one company, on the 8th, we landed at Contai, a considerable town, formerly the residence of a judge; here we met the conservator of the forrests, Major Gilbert, of the Bombay establishment, who entertained us with that liberal hospitality which, (though natural to this gentleman,) I am proud to say, is the virtue of our climes. He was on his tour to select timber for the Company, who pay several agents for this purpose along this coast, where the very finest teak in India is to be procured. Living almost constantly in the jungle, to superintend every thing himself; and scarcely ever cheered with the company of his countrymen, this gentleman is one of the many who have sacrificed their health, with every other comfort, to the discharge of an important trust. I am sorry to say, however, when speaking of such liberal masters as ours have commonly proved themselves, that his services have not met with an adequate reward. His emoluments altogether are not above a fourth of the stipend allowed to civilians holding the like appointments; though most certainly, as the duties are the same, and his exertions perhaps the most active and well-directed of the whole, he may be esteemed, beyond a doubt, the most profitable servant the Company can boast in that immediate line.

On the 11th we passed Seedasseerghur, a small fort, garrisoned by a company: this is our frontier station \* on this coast; the intermediate

\* It was the frontier station of the Madras establishment, when the author left India; within a few months after his departure, the greater part of Cocan has been subdued.



space between this and Bombay belonging in general to other powers. On the 12th we made Goa, once the capital of a mighty empire. It had risen, by valour and enterprise, in the brightest era of the dominion and fame of Portugal; it fell, through the corruption of sloth and luxury, during the reign of superstition. It now contains more priests than soldiers, more churches than battlements; no merchants, no trade, no manufactures; though pride and bigotry enough to serve half the world besides. And we ought to keep it in our remembrance, that as we have risen by the like virtues, so we may fall, whenever we shall become equally base and degenerate. May it exist for ever in its present state, as a beacon to warn us from the rock; as the light to merit in the path of honour; and as the check to the assumptions of power, in the arbitrary distribution of unmerited favors, or in withholding just rewards! The glory of Portugal was levelled with the dust as soon as the simple virtues of a military life were neglected; and when the corrupt influence of wealth and patronage became too great; and so may ours be, even though superstition and bigotry should refuse their aid, or be repelled by the spirit of a religion that is only established on the conviction of the mind. Malwase, Gerriaghur, and Baucote, were the only other remarkable stations that we made in our course; on the 16th we reached Bombay.

Bombay, is one of those settlements, of which the situation, limits, antiquities, and climate, are so well known, that a description of it here would be entirely misplaced. There is another view of the subject, however, that may not be entirely without the charms of interest and novelty. It is the review of its former state only a few years since, with the comparison of the actual importance it has now attained. So lately back as 1764, it is described by a learned foreigner, as a place that had risen very considerably within the twenty preceding years; its population having increased within that time, from about 70 to 140 thousand souls: it now contains full double this last amount; Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, holding the proportions of 3, 4, and 6, towards each other in this respect. At

that period, according to the same authority, the Company maintained 17 companies of foot, 3 companies of artillery, and 8,000 sepoys on the island itself, for the service of Bombay, and its dependencies along the coast; the whole of this force being then commanded by an officer who held no higher rank than that of major; and was only allowed the third voice in council, on those subjects that were connected with military affairs. At the present day, under the command of a general officer, and with several major-generals and brigadiers under him, the Bombay army includes 18 regular battalions, with the requisite proportion of Europeans, artillery, cavalry, and pioneers; and without the late additions, or the enumeration of those regiments that belong more particularly to the King, though equally maintained by the Company. In 1764, there were 10 small cruizers belonging to the establishment, for the service of the coast; we have now 18 of a superior size, notwithstanding some late reductions; and might increase this number almost to any extent, either from our trade, which could abundantly supply the means of any sudden outfit, or from our docks, that have lately produced vessels of a most perfect and durable construction, capable of mounting 70 or 80 guns. Such has been the rapid advance of this single establishment, the smallest and least important by far of the three we hold; the other two are not yet on the decline: a truth, which a population of fifty millions of obedient and industrious subjects, a well-disciplined and gallant army of 200,000 men, and a fleet mounting 3795 guns in the immediate service of the Company, will readily confirm.

Such are the improvements that have taken place within the last fifty years; such is the present aspect of our strength, when compared with its former state: the picture may bear the outward stamp of the vain boastfulness of pride; but our Indian possessions have indeed attained that eminence, wherein they may trust their peace and security to that open display of our might, which shall repress the aspiring hopes of our enemies, and warn them off from the attack. The invasion of India has often soothed the waking dreams of mad

ambition ; but whenever the attempt is made, if we are only true to ourselves, as we may believe that success itself will be dearly purchased, we shall recollect, that it is not enough to be outwardly secure in the armour of our strength, but that it is necessary we should also guard with equal vigilance, against *the inward bruise that brings decay*. As yet we do not take the field, borne aloft on palankeens, or with bands of players and balliaders in our train, (as I found was generally believed on our continent): it may be asserted, however, that there is already too much influence allowed to those departments of the state, which the tenure of our possession had naturally placed in the inferior rank. The gown may rule the sword, and in its pride may even spurn at military deservings, where the civil ranks compose the fountain source of the general security: but where it is the reverse, as the assumption is unnatural, so it may stimulate to dangerous discontents ; or, at the best, may so entirely repress that honorable feeling of professional pre-eminence, which frequently remains in the midst of corruption and luxury ; that the very semblance of the military spirit shall be lost in the fallen and degenerate time-serving slave. The Portuguese often fought with the most determined bravery, even when they led the army in their palankeens ; but they had still their pride and their honor left, their rank and their dignity to support. The effeminate Pretorians could yet forsake the purple couch and the soft enjoyments of the bath, to encounter the hardy veterans of the Danube and the Rhine ; but they were still the Pretorian bands, the Jovians and the Herculi of the day.

My stay at Bombay was too short and busy to make very numerous acquaintances ; I had an opportunity, however, of observing, that if more retired habits generally prevail, than is usual at the other presidencies, it is not entirely without its share of attentive kindness and civility. Less profusion is displayed in their entertainments than is common in Bengal ; the welcome, however, is not the less sincere ; and a bare introduction is frequently enough to secure those generous offices of friendship, which, in our colder climes, require the warmth of many a summer day, to be ripened into fruit.

## CHAPTER III.

DEPARTURE FROM BOMBAY, COAST OF ARABIA FELIX, DEVIL'S GAP, MASKAT. — EXCURSION INTO THE INTERIOR. — DANGEROUS SITUATION OF SHIP. — VOYAGE UP THE GULF, MUTINY ON BOARD, ORMUS, THE PIRATES, MADNESS OF OUR CAPTAIN. — ARRIVAL AT BUSHEER, OBSERVATIONS MADE THERE; KARRACK; PEARL FISHERY; ARRIVAL AT BUSSORA: ITS PRESENT STATE, &c. &c.

ON Saturday, the 26th of October, 1816, I left Bombay, and bade adieu to those scenes which I often look back upon with a mingled feeling of pleasure and regret. It was a foreign land that I forsook, to return to my country and my relatives; the anticipation was delightful; and yet, had early habit, and the recollection of many a dear and valued friend, their influence over the sentiments of a heart divided betwixt the sadness of remembrance and the cheerfulness of hope.

The manner of my departure was somewhat sudden and unexpected. The arrangements for a journey overland, I had been taught to believe completed, when I had disencumbered myself of every article but a few changes for the passage to Bussora, and had carefully inspected the condition of my arms. With arms to defend myself, and without the inducement of a cumbrous equipage to excite attention or provoke cupidity, I thought myself secure; and had been readily prepared. There were, however, certain arrangements, which, depending on others more immediately than on myself, were not so easily accomplished. Great was my wonder, therefore, and perplexity, when about 10 on the morning of this day, I received information that our ship had sailed; and coming out of my tent, actually beheld the Fuzil Kureem, under a press of canvass, and far beyond the bank. The situation in which I found myself may serve as a lesson to future travellers; who, profiting by my experience, will even more carefully inform themselves regarding their commander, than concerning the worthiness of their bark. The occurrence, otherwise, was scarcely worth the relation; and yet it

will be seen, that I should have had occasion more than once to repent the choice, had I not felt myself prepared for every chance that might present itself. My notice of embarkation having been for the ensuing Monday, so premature a flight was totally unexpected, and equally unaccountable ; it was not, however, a moment for surmises and inquiries ; so I set my shoulder to the wheel, invoking the assistance of the propitious deity, that helps those who exert themselves. To the kindness of a friend (whose attentions shall ever claim a grateful remembrance) I was indebted for the ease and celerity of my progress through the public offices. Within the hour, my certificates had been granted ; my accounts had been passed ; public introductions from government had been furnished me ; and with every wish for my health and safety from this esteemed and valued friend, I found myself at sea, in the Bunder boat.

The Bunder boats, with their Lascars, belong to a regular establishment, under the charge of the master-attendant, Captain Keys ; whose obliging conduct on occasions of the kind has often been experienced by others besides myself. The quickness of their sailing, the safety and strength of their construction, with the boldness and dexterity of the men employed in them, render them equal, if not superior on the whole, to every other variety of open boats that I have seen. On the present occasion, indeed, I enjoyed an opportunity of witnessing their performance to a considerable extent ; as we had a chace of four hours, and were nearly out of sight of land, before we reached the ship. My worthy commander, as I subsequently found out, had formed a very erroneous opinion as to our condition and intents ; and having, poor man, entirely forgotten his passenger, and his engagements, had mistaken our boat for a dispatch he was not anxious to receive. No wonder, therefore, that with the fear of the law before him, he had leant but a deaf attention to the signals which we made. On my coming on board, however, he introduced me to his mate, stammered out an awkward apology for his forgetfulness, and relieved, as he felt, from a load of care and apprehension, insisted on closing the labours of the day with a social glass in the cabin he occupied.

On the morning of the 27th, I had an opportunity of observing the accommodations and discipline of the ship, with the variety and different manners, of the motley crew which it conveyed. Described as an Arab ship, my readers of Bombay, or in the Persian Gulf, will have no difficulty in understanding the nature of her equipments; for the information of others, however, who might dislike the trusting themselves to such an outset, I may add, that in our trade with the Persian Gulf, an Arab ship (as it is styled) is usually built and navigated on English principles; being commanded by a European, with a mate or two under him; which entitles the vessel to the protection of our flag. On the whole, therefore, the owners being Arab merchants, an Arab ship may be ranked amongst the inferior classes of our country trade; and certainly affords, in respect to accommodations, a greater variety of comforts than its name might be supposed to indicate.

The Fuzil Kureem, be it then known, was an Arab ship of 350 tons, with a crew of 50 Lascars, and 90 passengers on board; of these, 30 were Persians, stout, able, and turbulent; the rest were Arabs, Turks, Jews, and Gentiles, of every quality and degree, of every trade and occupation that can be named. Merchants, and pilgrims to the holy tomb at Kurbullah; horse-dealers, soldiers, gentlemen, and slaves; they had reached Bombay from every part; and, like the false doctrines which they professed, they were abroad again to taint the world with their follies and their vanities, their false dogmas, and their presumptuous hopes.

I shall not tire my reader by a particular narration of our daily progress; "the proper study of mankind is man;" and for this study, (the daily taking of an observation excepted,) I had certainly abundant leisure, and a most varied scope. The Nakadar, or super-cargo, (Sayed Kuder,) with another Turk or two, I soon found were men of considerable intelligence; and had travelled with sufficient profit to communicate a variety of useful information. The fluency, indeed, with which one of the latter expressed himself in the *Lingua Franca*, and, as I understood, in French, certainly induced suspicions it was natural to surmise from his conduct in general, and

appearance in particular. He was not the only one, I must confess, on whom, in the course of my travels, the suspicion of being an European in disguise might fix itself; but he left us too soon, as I shall have occasion to relate hereafter, to afford us the opportunity of pursuing the enquiry. He may be wronged, therefore, in this belief of his character and pursuits. There are others of this description, however, beyond a doubt, who, under the protection of a beard and a turban, land on our shores with perfect freedom, and traverse our dominions with entire security as peaceful travellers. Observations of longitude, I believe, were entirely beyond the skill of any one on board; our commander at least informed me, they were totally unnecessary, as the coast of Arabia in due time would bring us up and indicate our course. During twelve days of patient endurance and confinement, we had nothing to relieve the dull insipidity of our course; besides a dow and two small boats, which our people dignified, though with what justice I know not, with the appellation of pirates. The coast of Arabia, however, (to use our commander's own expression,) was at last to bring us up; and on this day, the 7th, the prognostic was accomplished beyond a doubt; the Devil's Gap, as this part of the coast is designated by mariners, being at sun-rise directly in front of our course. The Devil's Gap most certainly was not the most convenient land we could have made; as it was sixty miles at least to leeward of Muskat, our destined port. Whether it derives its name (with our mariners) from the adverse winds and squalls it generally pours forth, or whether (as our Nakadar and our Turks asserted) these adverse winds themselves, and the dead calms which usually succeed, proceed from the wickedness and profligacy of the people of its shores, I shall not attempt to decide. Certain it is, however, that as abilities, information, and industry, more commonly command success, than indolence and sloth; so those who, like ourselves, may find their barks detained within the magic influence of its surrounding shores, may chiefly blame themselves, and themselves only, (it being out of the usual course,) for the hinderance it may oppose to their anxiety. During the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, we found ourselves at sun-rise most commonly within the Gap;

its bleak, barren prospect, had little in it to cheer our spirits; and, like the worthy and celebrated Sinabad, I had begun to apprehend myself within certain magic bounds, which it required a spell of potent influence to destroy; when, on the morning of the 12th, a breeze sprung up, and we resumed our course.

Our greater luck in this instance was certainly owing to the length of the tack that we had made; there were, however, a variety of opinions on this score, which, as a faithful narrator, I esteem it my duty to acknowledge and relate. True it is, as I have already hinted, that the length of our first tack from the shore had carried us beyond the shelter of the bay; but a Turk does not always reason as we do; and there were others, and amongst these my friend the Nakadar, who had attributed our ill luck and detention, to the vices and crimes of some unknown individual amongst our passengers or crew. The finger of the Prophet was on the evil one, and whilst he remained amongst us, uncleansed of his sins, no good, it seemed, could be expected. A general ablution, therefore, had been proposed at an early hour on the morning of the 12th. The sea was at hand to cleanse a greater load of filth than we could boast amongst us, though we were by no means deficient; and the experiment succeeded to admiration: an Arab and a Jew disappearing from our stern, almost at the moment that the breeze sprung up. The occurrence spoke for itself! "Ish aut Allah," said a grave Turk, stroking his beard; "we have a fair wind; they must have been bad men." It was the only observation the accident called forth from the worthy ancient; and within the day it was forgotten, even by those who had exerted themselves most strenuously in behalf of the unfortunate pair. Such is man!

On the 12th, at noon, we made Maskat, and when coming in, saw twenty-five grabs, or small craft, sailing out for Bombay under convoy of the Caroline, an Arab frigate of forty guns. Two other large English-built vessels were in the cove; whilst thirty or forty small craft were loading or unloading their cargoes of dates, salt, rice, and other goods of various kinds. Our vessel having mercantile concerns of some importance to transact, a stay of some days was re-



solved upon ; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of his mates, our captain dropped anchor within musket-shot at most of the upper or northern battery : a choice of situation we had afterwards but too much reason to repent, as I shall have occasion to relate.

Maskat, on the eastern coast of Arabia Felix, is situated in lat.  $23^{\circ} 38'$  N. and lon.  $57^{\circ} 27'$  E. ; in the small but fertile province of Oman. Though spoken of by Arrian and known to the Greeks, it was not a place of any great importance, until the taking of Ormus in 1622 by the Persians ; when a number of its inhabitants took refuge there. Since that period, however, its position at the bottom of a cove remarkable for its safety, convenience, and good anchorage, has commanded and secured an extensive trade ; for such we may well esteem that (in reference to its size) which employs so many vessels as we found on our entrance in the cove. With the land of science and romance before me, with so many objects to excite wonder and interest, as the traveller may discriminate, in the novelty of the prospect, or the recollection which may improve his mind, and direct his enquiries, it may be readily believed I lost no time in visiting the shore. A small canoe was plying off our ship, the sight of a roobee commanded its attendance, and within a few minutes, the African slaves that rowed it for their master had landed me on the beach.

The custom-house, the palace, and its vicinity, the bazars and principal streets, were crowded with Arabs of every description and tribe ; with Jews, Hindoos, Belooches, Turks, and Africans. I was now amongst a race, of whom it has been written, " that every man's hand shall be against them, and their hand against every man ;" and every man's hand was armed : The Arabs, each after the manner of his tribe, or his own convenience, with a curved asgailee, a matchlock, or a pike ; the Beloochee soldiers, naked to the waist, with a crooked toffung, a knife, and a straight two-handed sword ; the wild Bedoon might be distinguished from amongst the first, by a striped kerchief surrounded with lashes of whip-chord, and flying loosely round his head ; by a coarse shirt, a square striped cumlin over his shoulders, and a chubook ; wild, and uncontrolled ; with a quick burning eye,

an animated and restless countenance : he appeared the lord of the creation, and was even in his physiognomy the lawless robber of a desert land. The others beseemed, in truth, the condition which they filled ; bare-headed, and with their black luxuriant hair floating to the wind, perhaps to increase the terror of their appearance ; the deadly keenness of their look, seemed to indicate the savage servile instruments of that despot's will whose authority they served.

It was amongst these, and every other variety that I have named, that I rambled ; a stranger and a wanderer ; every man's hand was armed ; and with steel that had been often used in every species of violence and strife. I met not, however, with the slightest rudeness or insult, until I encountered some African slaves at work behind the town. These were perhaps impelled, by my outwardly unprotected state, and began observations, sufficiently pointed and insulting, to induce me to repel the application, and check their presumption, by a display (as if by accident) of the pistols in my belt. The sight was enough to repress their insolence. Unprotected strangers are often plundered by these miserable wretches on the outskirts of the city ; perceiving, however, that I was armed, and known to some who passed, they resumed their work ; whilst I returned to procure a guide and an interpreter, from the Company's agent in the town.

With the guide furnished me by Golam Annundas, and another attendant, I resumed my rambles about 12 o'clock ; revisited the vaulted bazars already spoken of, two small villages in the vicinity, and a mosque, to which access was readily allowed. This is contrary to the usual practice of other Mahomedans. The people of Maskat, however, belong to the sect of Abâdi, or Bojasi ; (sometimes called Kharejites \*, by the Soonites and Sheeas, by way of reproach ; ) and are extremely tolerant. They are also equally plain in their manners, make little distinction in their conduct and deportment towards those of another religion ; and give no preference whatever to the

\* By Sale, in his Preliminary Discourse, &c. page 173.

descendants of Mahomed and Aly, above other men of an equally ancient and respectable family.

On my return in the evening, I passed through the slave-bazar, where three times a week slaves are exposed for sale, and disposed of by auction, or private contract. The sale had just commenced, as I stopped to view a scene that had at least the interest of novelty. Twenty or thirty young Africans, brought across the desert, and chiefly from the coast of Zanguebar, were ranged in rows on either side of the bazar, and according to their sex. They were, in general, handsomely trimmed (dressed is an improper term) for the occasion; and appeared in truth perfectly resigned; being certainly in as clean and sleek a condition, (with a cloth girdle round their middle, for their only covering) as their owners or purchasers could have wished. The latter, indeed, in walking between the ranks, seemed extremely particular in handling and feeling the bodies and skins of their intended purchases; extending their inspections to such minute particulars as quite astonished me; who was by no means a connoisseur, in any animal more rational than a camel or a horse. A tall lusty Arab, who might evidently have claimed relationship with those whom he exposed, was parading a boy of ten or twelve, and crying out his price; vociferating, with an impudence truly professional, his age and stature, his qualities and cast. "Forty dollars," said he to me, in Hindostanee, on observing my approach, "and he is yours; yours to feed or starve, to work, or bring up as your child. Look up, you rogue," (addressing himself to the boy in Arabic,) "Look up, and see, will you be sold to the Faringee? he is a rich man, and the lord of wealth." The child looked up, laughed, and still holding by his master's hand, was presented in the same manner to the various chapmen that appeared. He was bought, I believe, by an old Arab, whom I had observed critically nice in his selection of the young females that were exposed. The age of the reverend senior ought in candour to acquit him of all improper views in certain parts of his examination. After opening their eyes, however, a close inspection of their teeth might have

induced me to believe his skill beyond that of our most learned Yorkshireman ; had it not been pointed out to me, that the teeth of many of these unfortunate creatures had been filed to a perfect point ; an improvement very great in their own opinion, but totally inconsistent with an Arab's notions of female loveliness ; since, uniting this appearance with certain conceits they have formed from the fabulous tales of their country, they do not hesitate to pronounce those who are thus adorned to be perfect cannibals ; and avoid them accordingly.

The mention of this subject, might naturally introduce and call forth observations on the present state of personal slavery, and its effects, in the Mahomedan countries that I have visited. Having subsequently, however, enjoyed more numerous and favourable opportunities of judging of the condition of household slaves, and of the conduct of their masters in various climes, I shall not avail myself of the privilege of an author, or anticipate a subject that must belong to the more extended views of improved observation and experience. At Maskat, it is certain, slaves are treated with a degree of humanity that would do honour to our climes : the hardest work in which they are employed, is in the plying of the small canoes already noticed ; a task of no great labour, from those intervals of rest which it affords. They live at their master's, board and sleep under his roof, eating of his dish, and drinking of his cup ; and are never again exposed to public sale, unless they misbehave ; a good and faithful slave being so much valued, that when distress obliges his master to part with him, he disposes of him to some private friend, who esteems him the more for his approved fidelity.

13th. The length of our stay being uncertain, I determined to make the most of my time ; and after visiting the Imam the following day, to venture into the interior with such an escort as I could obtain, to visit some gardens and hot medicinal springs that were much spoken of. Preliminaries were soon arranged, our Banian informing me, that such a dress, guide, and horse, as he could provide me for a few piastres, would be the very best protection I could

desire ; unless, indeed, I could command a host ; and trust to strength instead of prudence for my security. On the morning of the 14th, therefore, I went on shore, dressed in my uniform ; which I soon found entitled me to greater respect and attention, than is commonly paid to that class of ship captains who usually visit these desert shores. I found no difficulty in obtaining access to the Imam, the attendants making way for me, and showing me through the outer court, to the open verrandah, where he sat employed, surrounded by his secretaries, his moonshees, and his slaves. Sayed Sayed (the name he bears) is a middle-aged man, of a personable appearance, and plain unaffected manners ; he had evidently been informed that I was a British officer, and knew the purpose of my journey ; as, after paying me the compliment of rising from his seat on my entrance, and making those enquiries that are indispensable to good-breeding, he at once observed I was not the only officer belonging to the Company, whom he had seen at the outset or close of their journey home. In the conversation that followed, and wherein he mentioned the names of several officers whom he had seen ; and enquired after, with more good-humoured earnestness than ceremonious form ; he made me those offers of service, and paid me those national compliments, which he thought might gratify my pride, display the extent of his own knowledge regarding the nature of our power and naval superiority ; and finally impress me with enlarged ideas of his own importance in the scale : the man appearing for once, and only once, from under the urbanity and politeness of his general demeanour. After adverting to the seizure of an Arab slave ship by our government, as a matter that was of no importance, and might be easily arranged (evidently with a view of drawing forth my opinion as to the means) ; on observing that I was anxious to depart, for the prosecution of my intended tour ; he paid me the usual compliment of ordering Golab, renewed his offers of services, and wished me health and the Divine protection in my journey home : requesting I would inform *the Company* I had seen him, and present his respects to ~~our~~ Shah Zada, George.

When I went to the Banian's, I found him conversing with two or three Arabs, one of whom he presented to me, as my intended guide; and having engaged him to furnish me with three horses for three days, for 20 piastres, I was desired by the Banian to rely entirely on his fidelity; and so began the business of the toilet, whilst he was dispatched for our steeds. On his return, we mounted, and commenced, as it proved, one of the most fruitless and harassing expeditions an unfortunate errand ever undertook. The country, inland, bears the like barren, bleak, inhospitable appearance, with its rocky shores. Neither grass, shrubs, nor trees, are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Maskat; with the exception of a few date-trees (near the fresh-water wells) to the south and westward of the town. As we rode on, however, and cleared the hills that surround the valley of Maskat, the rocks we trod upon were gradually exchanged for a firm red soil, that was equally barren and desolate; my guide, and another Arab that accompanied him, appearing the while greatly surprised, that I could not understand a word of all they said.

At about the tenth mile we found ourselves on very elevated ground, though we had no longer any of those abrupt and stony declivities to surmount, which had hitherto impeded the progress of our hacks. We had passed a few miserable tents and wretched huts, at a distance on either flank of our course; we now came to a small village, where some women were at work, uncovered, and in the open air, who fled immediately on our approach, calling out, "Thieves! thieves!" with all their might. We certainly presented no very inviting appearance, my companions being two of the most ragged kerns that ever cried out "Stand" to a true man. I must confess, nevertheless, I thought this distrust no very favourable proof of the hospitality of the tribe; as, however unexpected our intrusion might be, our demeanour certainly was peaceable enough; and our numbers too insignificant to occasion any just alarm. The ladies chose to be frightened, and the sex has claims to timidity, even in these desert wilds: we were constrained, therefore, to put up with the affront, and to wait patiently until their cries had brought out some

of the men ; when, after a short parley, we were allowed to dismount and rest a while. We had now been four hours on the road, having rode extremely slow ; and, as the day was far advanced, I had naturally supposed this would be our resting-place, and that some food would be offered us to recruit our strength : in this hope, however, I was most woefully disappointed ; not so much as a draught of water being produced to quench our thirst. My companions, indeed, seemed to have no conception of any necessities of the kind ; and as they appeared to treat me as one that was deaf and dumb, expressing themselves entirely by signs, (perhaps to deceive our hosts, or for want of words,) I was constrained to humour the deception, for fear of the consequences that might have attended the detection.

After we had halted about an hour, standing or sitting on the ground in the open air, an old man got up to accompany us on foot. The evening was now drawing on apace ; but as my vocabulary extended only to single words, I could not even enquire into the probable duration of this most unpleasant adventure. I felt assured I might rely on the fidelity of my guide ; I must acknowledge, however, that as night came on, I began heartily to repent an undertaking attended with so many discomforts ; and that had not even the charms of interest or pleasing novelty, to sweeten the bitter draught of the disappointment I experienced in the solitude of these scenes. We rode on (I should think) about six hours more, my watch having been left behind for fear of accidents ; when, utterly disgusted with the fatigue I had undergone in this fruitless search of amusement, almost sick for want of food, and parched with thirst, we reached at last a more considerable village ; where my guide informed me by signs, it was intended we should spend the remainder of the night. As I had lost my dinner, so I went supperless to bed on the hard ground, in front of a large square building, belonging, as I understood, to the Imam of Maskat.

When we rose in the morning, I induced my guide, with some difficulty, by repeating the word constantly, and pointing to my mouth, to procure me a little water, with a few dates ; a woman adding a small

piece of the blackest rye-cake I had ever seen to complete the meal, and refusing a piastre I offered her in return. I could now perceive we were in something like a considerable village; the building we were near having a basin of water in the front, supplied by springs, with a few date and pomegranate trees around, to entitle it to the appellation of a garden-house. As my curiosity, therefore, regarding this boasted retreat was perfectly satisfied; when our frugal meal was over, and the horses were brought, I at once declined the signal of my guide to proceed farther west; and to explain my meaning beyond a doubt, began to retrace our former course. We did not return exactly the way we came, taking, I believe, a shorter cut, and were only eight hours on the road; but as it was extremely hot and sultry, and as I had had so little food or rest to recruit my strength, I was sufficiently fatigued and almost worn out, when we returned from this fruitless and adventurous jaunt the evening after we had set off.

On the 16th, at 8 A. M., the Kusrovy, an Arab ship, of 300 tons, and commanded by a Mr. W., cast anchor within the cove; he was soon on board of us to receive his letters from Bombay, and to communicate the news which he had brought from Bussora. The cutter he returned in afforded a convenient opportunity of a last visit to the shore during the swell, and I gladly availed myself of the offer, though scarcely recovered from the fatigues and disappointment of my last excursion. It was destined, I soon found, to be another day of disappointment and distress; as I had scarcely begun my rambles before the swell and gale had increased into a perfect storm. Entertaining but a very indifferent opinion of our captain's skill, I was anxious to return on board, lest I should again be left behind in the event of his going out to sea. The offer of a dollar procured me a canoe, which, after a while, however, was unable to proceed; the slaves declaring it was impossible that it should live in such a swell. The greater the danger, the more anxious I felt of course to get on board; so, betwixt promises and threats, I forced them to venture a second attempt; which must certainly have proved fatal to the whole of us, had we not been providentially rescued from our overloaded



and sinking canoe, by the people of the ship that had so fortunately arrived.

In the launch so kindly sent to my assistance, I reached our vessel with considerable difficulty ; and found her in a state that might have induced my continuance on land, had I been previously aware of the fatal effects of our commander's obstinacy in anchoring so near the shore. The unfortunate man stood in tears, and quite besides himself, deploring his unhappy fate and his approaching loss ; whilst, in the midst of a tremendous sea, the vessel was drifting on towards a bluff-leeward rock, that almost overhung our stern. It required no very superior skill to perceive our situation was somewhat dangerous ; turning to his mate, however, who stood smoking with the perfect *nonchalance* of a real seaman, I was informed we were not without our hopes : our anchor had dragged, and fastened two or three times in drifting, so might ultimately hold. The contrast between the conduct of the two might have proved entertaining at a moment of inferior interest : " Nothing can be done," continued the veteran, " as it is impossible to get an anchor out ; it is not the first time by three, however, that I have been wrecked." In answer to my enquiries, for a cool *calculating* contempt of danger inspires confidence, as fear communicates ; he was proceeding on the detail of his present intentions, and the manner of his former scapes, quoting latitudes, bearings, and logs, betwixt every whiff, when, after a pause, he exclaimed, " She holds ! so now for it ;" and seizing the lead and line, ran aft, with a spirit of alacrity that can only be equalled by the coolness he had evinced during the preceding momentous and alarming crisis we had escaped.

I have related the anecdote at length, as extremely honourable to the character of a gallant tar. Our British sailors stand not in need of panegyric ; and yet, as no impending danger can well be more terrible in its appearance than that we had escaped ; so should the bold brave spirit that stands alone and undismayed amidst the shock of elements, be at least cheered with the hope, that amongst those few examples of a daring courage and humble worth which the pen res-

cues from oblivion, his own firm endurance and brighter deeds may perhaps live in memory beyond the silence of the tomb. An impending fate, suspended over us, as it were, by the single thread of a good or evil destiny; is frequently more awful, than the struggle and actual contact with death itself. We had been relieved from our more immediate apprehensions, but we passed a night of doubt and anxiety; our only hope, riding by a single anchor, and the bluff rocks so close to our stern, that we seemed to vibrate, as we rose or fell, betwixt the stupendous cliff that overhung our vessel from above, and the sunken reef that threatened destruction from beneath. At length, however, the morning dawned, the sun shone forth in all its splendour, and all was peace; the sea excepted, which seemed even then to rise in rebellion to the milder spirit of the surrounding scene. In the course of this day the greater part of our passengers returned on board; the Mamluk linguist already mentioned was, however, amongst the exceptions, on account (as it was said) of news he had received from Bussora, which induced him to remain behind until the approaching departure of the next caravan that went across for Mocha or Cossir.

Before we leave Maskat it may not be improper to observe, it is only as the principal emporium of a considerable trade that we should estimate its worth; its own particular exports being confined to dates of an inferior kind, seven or eight thousand bags of coffee, brimstone, \*ruinos, a few horses and camels, besides the bullion which it pays for our Indian commodities. The population of Maskat has been variously estimated; a constant bustle and activity, and a great influx of strangers, making it appear far greater than it is. Judging, however, from the known population of other cities, in relation to their circumference, the height of the houses, manner of living, and space that is unoccupied, I think we may assert that, with resident strangers, it falls not short of 30,000 souls: should we allow a third of that number to Muttura, (which is large, but thinly peopled,) and estimate the surrounding villages on the whole at about a fourth, it accords with the

\* Ruinos is a plant used in the red dyes of the East.

best information I could procure, and would increase the estimate to near 47,000 souls.

In 1650, it was fortified by the Portuguese, who had been established there near 30 years; and it has *outwardly* the appearance of considerable strength. Its batteries, however, considering the advantages that may be derived from a choice of position, are certainly beneath the notice of a regular attack. I shall not, therefore, scruple to assert, in opposition to those notices which I have read, that the weakness of the profile, the elevation of the works in general, and the surrounding heights, would render them totally untenable, even were the artillery that defends the access in a more serviceable state.

The appearance of the town and buildings, in general, is somewhat mean. The trade, however, which it carries on as an emporium; the shipping that frequents its port; the number of people that resort there from every part of Arabia; with its covered bazars, supplied with every variety of goods, in absolute profusion; contribute, on the whole, to impress the mind with notions of its wealth, prosperity, and commercial activity. The climate, I believe, will scarcely need a comment; as a comparative statement, however, I may observe, that at noon, when the thermometer at sea was 82°, it was 86° in the cove, and 90° in the town. On the whole, therefore, it was not warmer than Bombay, at the same season of the year; though in the months of June, July, and August, the weather is so hot, and the *shumals* so oppressive, that no person can walk the streets. In other respects it is not generally esteemed healthy; but amongst a variety of fruits which a few gardens at the hot springs produce, the melon, grape, and pomegranate, may be enumerated as of the most delicate flavour and luscious quality. The latter, indeed, may truly be styled the fruit of Paradise; and when the poet of Shiraze was so loud in asserting the superiority of those produced in his own native vale, he certainly assumed an honour, which it belongs to the desert blast alone to mature and boast; the heat of the *shumals* bursting the outward rind of the pomegranate, and drying up those astringent juices, which render the fruit in other parts of very inferior quality.

On the declension of the Portuguese empire in the East, Maskat was retaken by the Arabs, under Essoof Ben Aly, Prince of Norenvæ; when the whole of the garrison, a few excepted, who turned Mahomedans, were put to death. Since that period, it has been free, except for a while during the reign of Nadir Shah; who, taking advantage of the dissensions which then prevailed between Sultan Ben Mursheed and the Imam, Seif Ben Sultan, contrived to obtain possession of the place by a stratagem of his General's, Mirza Tacki Khan. The wily Persian had only been called in as an auxiliary; but inviting the Imam to an entertainment, he plied him so abundantly with the waters of Shiraze, that oblivion, stealing into the strong hold of reason, and overpowering mistrust, his signet was stolen from him, and affixed to an order for the delivery of the forts that command the town. The reign of the Persians, however, was of short duration, the two competitors dying immediately after this; when Achmed Ben Saiid, governor of Sohar, expelled them by means somewhat similar, and was invested with the government by his grateful countrymen, for having delivered them from a foreign yoke.

Saiid Ben Saiid, the present Imam, and the second son of this patriot, usually resides in a palace near the sea, that was once the cathedral church of the Portuguese garrison. This Imam is a prince of considerable importance, entirely independent of the Porte, and divides this part of Arabia with the Prince of Mocha and the Wahabees, though in unequal shares; his authority, generally speaking, extending to the province of Oman only. If we may trust report, he can bring 7000 men into the field, partly Belooches and Sindjeans, from the neighbourhood of Tatta. It is, however, as a naval power chiefly, that Saiid Ben Saiid, the present Imam, should rank amongst the surrounding tribes; the people of Rass al Kymer, who can bring some thousand horse into the field, having generally proved successful (as in the last war when they killed his brother) in the various encounters that they have had. This navy, if I may use the expression, consists of the Caroline, a frigate of 40 guns (as already mentioned), and tolerably equipped; two large vessels, that were formerly Indiamen;

and about thirty, or thirty-five inferior craft. Respecting the strength of these, however, it would be difficult to speak with certainty ; as on occasions of this kind the information that can be procured from the merchants and officers of the place is liable to the greatest inaccuracy.

With the advantage of a language sufficiently understood by many to communicate my thoughts, I ought certainly to have met with greater success in my enquiries than I can boast : I was, however, but too often disappointed and perplexed by the ignorance of some who appeared amongst the best informed, and by a wilful perversion of truth in others, who certainly could have no motive for the deception, except an inveterate habit, which is common, I think, (notwithstanding some good qualities,) to the people of the East. In my anxiety to reject error, and avoid uncertainty, I may, therefore, have lost the occasion of recording information both useful and luminous ; the motive, however, will plead as my excuse ; and I shall resume my narrative.

On the 18th, we left Maskat: at noon made our latitude by observation,  $24^{\circ} 3'$  ; and in the evening, a shower of rain and a change of wind reduced the thermometer, almost at once, from  $80^{\circ}$  to  $74^{\circ}$  ; the lowest it had yet fallen. On the 19th, at noon, the thermometer had only risen to  $76^{\circ}$  ; and in lat.  $25^{\circ} 1'$  at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. m. we observed an eclipse of the sun ; which the Arabs, Persians, and Turks, amused themselves by viewing, as reflected in tubs of water on the quarter deck. The 20th might have proved a day of as little interest as the two preceding, had we not been disturbed at an early hour by a sudden rise amongst the Arabs and Persians we had on board. I was not at first aware of the nature of the fray, but observing the mate to be struggling amongst them, and hearing the captain vociferate for his sword, I thought it right to assist him and the ragged crew that officiated as sepoy, in driving the mutineers towards the poop ; an object we effected with ease, and happily without bloodshed. On enquiry we subsequently found, that having had a trivial quarrel with some of our crew, the Persians had proceeded to inflict summary punishment, by attempting to strangle an unfortunate Lascar ; and

hat the mate having presumed to interfere, they had suddenly risen upon him, with the intent of resenting the interposition on his own person by the like violence. After a night spent in irons, an exhibition at the grating the next morning was sufficient to cool the spirit of the proudest of them all ; so finding their turbulence and their threats were likely to prove, at the best, a scurvy joke, they most earnestly and pitiously requested to be forgiven and released.

On the 21st, we made a low rocky island, and were presented with a view of Ormus, the Necrokin of the Tartars, the Armazia, Ormuzium, or Organa of the ancients. The wonders and opulence of Ormus, are too nearly connected with the most glorious era in the history of Portugal, too intimately allied with the fame of those early daring adventurers, who pointed out the course we have since followed, to be entirely neglected or passed over in silence and indifference. It is, indeed, the office of the traveller, on all occasions like the present, to mark the change which time has wrought ; to fill up the landscape he holds to view with those retired scenes which are only visible and clear in the contrast the shade affords. In the eleventh century, on the rocky barren island of Gombroon, an Arab conqueror commenced a city, which subsequently became the capital of an empire ; extending on either side to the Persian and to the Arabian shores. The emporium of a trade connecting India with our climes, it afforded a more splendid and agreeable residence, than any eastern city of its time. Merchants from every quarter of the globe resorted there, outvying each other in a display of wealth and luxury. " Beautiful women, from all parts of Asia, instructed from their youth in all the arts of varying and improving the delights of voluptuous love, presented themselves in crowds, to court the stranger with pleasures and with smiles. The very air was impregnated with perfumes, and the ground overspread with carpets of the richest dye." Such it was, like other cities of ancient celebrity. It is now, however, as it had been, a miserable village on a barren shore ; with a few wretched Arabs to linger on the spot where

monarchs, foregoing their state, and yielding to soft enjoyment, might have loved to dwell. The history of its fall is known. It was conquered by the celebrated Albuquerque, in 1507, but retaken by the Persians under Shah Abbas the Great, on the 25th of April, 1622: after this period, a portion of its trade was transferred for a time to Bunder Abbas, where we had a factory granted us; the rest, with some of its wealthiest inhabitants, removing to Maskat, on the Arabian coast.

On the following days, we were annoyed with adverse heavy gales: anchored, and next encountered a pirate dow with two small boats off the island of Cain, their place of chief resort. On this occasion, however, as before, we came off with the fright; proving much too strong for them to venture on the attack. Our ship, I was informed, had, on a former voyage, beaten off a score; and I must indeed confess, it appears to me a reflection on our national character, and the title we arrogate as lords of the ocean, to allow such miserable, yet ferocious banditti to infest the seas, and beard us even to our face on our own element. Bound by no law, by no respect controlled, their wanton barbarous cruelty has set them beyond the pale of civilised intercourse, of mutual trust, and sacred confidence. And yet (though it must be acknowledged to our shame,) have we sent missions and framed treaties with barbarians, who have only been anxious to observe our strength, and to avail themselves of our security. Where war is carried on, under the observance of certain principles, that are acknowledged by civilised nations in general, the rule we trust to when unfortunate, should be the bond of mutual security and confidence. When, however, the barbarous mutilation or massacre of every prisoner is the immediate consequence of success, it is weakness, it is worse than weakness, it is a participation in their guilt, to delay for a moment the inflicting of such a punishment as these cruelties have deserved.

The pirates of the gulf are composed of various Arab tribes; the chief of these, the Joassmees of Rass al Kymer, being, however, intimately connected with the Wahabees, (a power already acknowledged,) our government has felt reluctant to engage in hostilities, and hence arises the impunity they boast. Their fleet is said to consist of sixty

large, and between eight and nine hundred vessels of a smaller size ; with 18 or 19 thousand men on board. Their history reaches back to a very remote antiquity ; as the empire of the pirate king, seizing (as described in the Koran of Ebn Hankal \*) on every valuable ship, is said to have been known prior to the deliverance from Egypt of the children of Israel. The Wahabees, in particular, first mentioned by Niebuhr †, are also noticed ‡, as springing from the province of Nedsjed ; where Moseillama, the great contemporary opponent of Mahomet, first propagated the doctrines of his faith. These are probably the same with the Mobeyyidites, or the Sufid Jamehghians, (as they are called by the Persians,) who were anciently followers of Hakem Ebn Hashem ; sometimes called Al Mokanna, and Al Borkai (or the veiled) by the Arabs. § Of this sect it is related, that in the reign of the Calif Al Mohdi, of the race of Abbas, Hakem Ebn Hashem, their prophet, gained a number of proselytes in Nakhshab and Kash ; giving out that the Divinity resided in his person, and had descended to him from Adam, and through the prophets that had appeared. He acquired great power, but being at last besieged by the Calif's forces, he poisoned and burnt his wives, children, and concubines, and threw himself into the flames, in the 163d year of the Hegira, promising his followers he would again appear.

The pirates of the gulf, at various times, have proved equally hostile to the trade of Portugal and our own ; some of their ships carrying as many as forty guns, with a crew of 300 men. In 1808, they seized the Hon. Company's cruiser, the Sylph, with the Persian secretary attached to our mission on board, and had proceeded to the murdering of the crew, when the dreadful work was arrested, and the survivors rescued, by the interposition of His Majesty's ship the Nereide ; which engaged and sunk the pirates, after a short, but well

\* Sir W. Ouseley's Ebn Hankal, p. 12. 95.

† Niebuhr's Travels, p. 17. 296. 302.

‡ Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 277.

§ It is not perhaps generally known, that from the history of this impostor, Mr. Moore has taken the ground-work for that part of his celebrated poem, which he styles "The Veiled Prophet."



contested fight. Subsequent to this, the *Minerva* merchantman, Captain Hopgood, was attacked by a fleet consisting of fifty-five ships and dows, carrying together upwards of 5000 men. After a distant fight of two days, the Arabs contrived to run her on board, and attacking from their poops, obtained possession of her decks. The issue of the contest is almost too horrible to obtain belief, or bear the relation. Covered with wounds, and sinking into death, Captain Hopgood perceived the impossibility of saving his ship; he delivered his only remaining pistol to one of his mates, with strict injunctions to proceed to the magazine, and to blow her up at the moment the Arabs should board. It had been glorious to their memory, and eminently advantageous to future navigators, (as holding forth a dreadful example of British resolution,) had the command been carried into effect. Once below however, the mate only thought of his own safety, and ran to hide himself; the boarding proved successful, and resistance was at an end. It was then the deliberate work of death began; and with all those circumstances of a barbarous solemnity, and all those superstitious ceremonies, that were calculated to increase the horrors of the scene. The ship was purified, with water, with prayers, and perfumes. Singly and bound, the victims were then brought forth; and whilst shouts of exultation, and Allah! Akbar! resounded from every side; they were made to stretch their throats to receive the knife; and were offered up, as a propitiatory sacrifice. Allah il Allah! "There is no god, but God," and the scene closed. A single and mutilated individual was alone spared, and landed at the next port, to convey the dreadful intelligence.

In 1809, the patience of our government being exhausted, and our trade entirely suspended by their daring piracies, an expedition was fitted out under the command of Captain Wainwright and Colonel Smith; when, a landing having been effected, Rass al Kymer was taken by storm, and fifty-three of their largest ships destroyed. Their other ports being subsequently attacked, the defence of Shinas, in particular, (by a General of Abdool Uzzeer's,) was extremely obstinate. Refusing quarter to their prisoners, they seldom expect it from their

enemies ; and when their walls had been demolished, and their battlements were nodding to their fall, they still persisted in the defence ; and rejecting the summons sent, threw back our grenades and shells before they had time to burst. Their undisciplined barbarous rage, it must however be confessed, was never calculated to resist the exertion of our force ; and the lesson they were then taught has had the effect of restraining their piracies for the few succeeding years that have elapsed. The want of timber to rebuild, may perhaps have occasioned a forced protraction of a state of inactivity so entirely foreign to the lawless predatory habits of these Arab tribes ; for in the year 1816, they certainly evinced a rising spirit of unlicensed depredation, which it may again be necessary to repress by force.

A sea voyage, in general, is entirely devoid of interest : confined within narrow bounds, with sea and sky for the only prospect, there is nothing to relieve that dull, insipid, monotonous existence, which has neither the charms of pleasure nor incident to occupy the mind. On the present occasion, however, we had certainly as many alarms, discomforts, and adventures within ourselves, as the knight of La Mancha could himself have wished. We had scarcely recovered from the fright occasioned by the rocks, the insurrection, and the pirates, when early on the morning of the 28th we were suddenly disturbed by a loud call from our commander, to rise and defend ourselves, or we should all be murdered instantly. A summons so terrific, it may be guessed, was not long unanswered. We had always slept with loaded arms since the first alarm : but almost before I could rise and seize my pistols and my sword, (it being dark,) the door of my cabin was burst open ; and, on rushing forth, I found myself attacked and grazed slightly in the side, by a sabre thrust. On closing and disarming my adversary, happily without any further hurt, he was discovered to be our unfortunate commander, who, his wits having entirely forsaken him, had imagined himself beset, and had alarmed us accordingly. Our situation was now as unpleasant and critical as the greatest lover of adventures could well have desired. Renewed attempts of the same nature obliged us to confine him : we were not sorry,

therefore, when on the 4th we reached Busheer, after running twice a-ground in the attempt.

On our arrival at Busheer we found that the resident was absent on a mission to the pirates of Rass al Kymer. The duties of his office, however, with the courtesies of that hospitality which Mr. Bruce observes, had fallen into the hands of his assistant Dr. Sharp; from whom, as the only passenger on board, I certainly experienced every attention I could have wished. As we were likely to remain some time, I projected a visit to Shiraze and Shapoor, but being disappointed in my design, I amused myself with perambulating the bazars, riding over the country, and making those enquiries relative to the present state of Persia, and the history of Busheer in particular, which a traveller would naturally pursue.

The ancient history of Persia was far better and more generally understood, than its present state was known, until the subject was taken up, with his usual ability, by General Sir J. Malcolm, our late ambassador at the Persian court. To the empire of the successors of Seleucus Nicator succeeded a Parthian race of kings, which warred with the Roman emperors with every variety of good and ill success. Under that difference of aspect, which the successful imposture of Mahomet occasioned, Tangrolipix, a Turk, and Ulahoon (or Ullah Khan) a Tartar, were each founders of a dynasty of kings; which the Turkoman and Sophian race were destined to succeed. On the death of Thamas Kooli Khan, usually styled Nadir Shah, (the General first, and next the deposer and successor of the last of these,) a state of anarchy ensued; which, as in the histories of other states, renders it extremely difficult to preserve the order of succession and observe the dates; several competitors having at once appeared, and been generally acknowledged or rejected, according to the influence attached to a momentary success. Mahomed Hassan Khan, however, the chief of these, and the head of the Cadjar tribe, a commander of high rank under Shah Thamas, the last of the Sophian race, established an authority which his descendants of the present dynasty have since resumed. Aga Mahomed Khan, his second son, defeat-

ing Lootf Ali Khan, (the last and greatest of Kerim Khan's successors,) and re-establishing an authority, which he has since transmitted to the present king; the son of his elder brother, who had been killed in battle by the Turkomans.

The intervening reigns of Kerim Khan, and of his kinsman Lootf especially, are on the present occasion more immediately deserving of attention, on account of the connection which exists between the events of their days and that cursory notice of the history of Busheer which the traveller should not neglect. Originally a Koordish robber, of a low tribe of the Zunds, Kerim Khan, rising by his personal valour to eminence, had defeated and killed Mahomed Hassan Khan, and established a power which maintained itself in the dependencies of Shiraze, during that temporary retirement from the honours of royalty, to which the princes of the present dynasty had been forced to submit. It is with Kerim Khan, therefore, that we shall commence that brief history of the place which its inferior importance may demand. Busheer, situated in the low province of Dashtistan, on a narrow neck of land from which the sea has apparently retired, is spoken of by Nearchus; and is the seat of one of those petty independent states, which the Arabs have established and generally retained along the eastern borders of the Persian Gulf. These it had been the policy of Kerim Khan to humble and destroy; under Shaik Nasr, however, the grandfather of its present governor, may be placed the æra of its greatest prosperity and influence; as it was on his promise, and by the exertions of his son, that Lootf Ali, the Persian monarch, was restored to the dignity which he had resigned on his father's death.

The Arabs delight, even now, in the recollection of the fame and generosity of this worthy chief; whose hospitality had been such, that all the tribes of Dashtistan esteemed themselves obliged to fly to his standard, as soon as the camel appeared amongst them, carrying, (as a signal of war,) the vessels that had been employed in the dressing of those general entertainments which his bounty had dispensed. Abdool and Mahomed Russool, grandsons of this ge-

nerous chief, were competitors for authority at the time we visited Busheer ; though without any of those violent unnatural struggles which so often divide the members of the same family in the East. They appeared, indeed, content, that the one or the other should reign (as it has of late happened) each in his turn ; but their moderation may be attributed to the experience which Abdool Russool in particular has had of the uncertainty of human greatness, he being the person who was formerly seized in the time of Sir Harford Jones's embassy to Persia, and conveyed with every indignity and contumely a prisoner to Shiraze.

From the circumstances of its situation and government, Busheer has always been remarkable, as the certain asylum of those illustrious fugitives, whom contending factions and adverse fortunes had compelled to flight. We have already mentioned an instance of its generous and devoted attachment to a fallen prince : Abdulla Aga and Sayed Allowee, men of high rank in the Pachalik of Bagdad, (whom we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter,) had not long quitted it when we arrived. The wife of the second minister of the empire, once the widow of Hajee Kelil Khan, the Persian ambassador who was unfortunately killed at Bombay, was amongst the refugees who still remained ; whilst, strange reverse of fortune and dignity, blind and oppressed with age and infirmity, a fallen monarch supported a miserable existence within its walls, by superior skill in the veterinary sciences. His judgment and powers of discrimination might indeed be esteemed wonderfully accurate ; as though blind, (a red hot wire having been passed through his eyes,) he could by the feel, and hearing of their motion only, form the most correct judgment of the horses which he bought.

The trade of Busheer, as the principal port of Persia, has generally been of considerable extent. The inner roads will admit vessels drawing eighteen feet water over the bar ; and, besides cruizers, men of war, inferior Arab dows, and country craft, it is usually visited by ten or twelve vessels from India of a considerable size which trade within the Gulf under the protection of our flag ; seven or eight of these, usually making a double trip within the year. Its imports con-

sist of broad cloth of the darker colours, and green and blue for the Persian dress ; of Surat and Bengal goods, dates, coffee, rice, and arms ; whilst returns are made in bullion, silks from Yezd and Kaschan, red silks from Ghilan, carpets from Ispahan, fine wool from Kirman, rhubarb from Usbeck, horses, mules, rose-water, wine of Shiraze, cotton, and fruits that are preserved. The buildings and bazars of Busheer, from the extent of the trade we have described, might naturally be supposed to evince a certain advance in splendour and convenience. The contrary, however, is certainly the case. The buildings and bazars in general may be pronounced inferior to those of Muskat and Bussora : it only contains twelve or fifteen houses of any consequence, 500 stone houses of an inferior size, six mosques, three hummums, and four caravansarys, besides huts, with a population of about 12,000 souls ; being surrounded with an old wall, flanked by twelve crumbling towers, that are wholly insufficient for the purposes of defence.

Our stay at Busheer had been too uncertain to pursue more connected enquiries, though protracted certainly beyond the period necessary for deriving information or amusement from the fund of interest which it affords. The last days had been spent in *ennui* and listlessness, and only varied by the anxiety that was felt for the fate of an unfortunate frail one, who had been detected in that familiar intercourse with a Christian, which the rigid principles of the Koran have consigned to the silent oblivion of the grave : the unhappy creature (an interesting girl of sixteen) having been suddenly carried off, and hurried across the country during the night, to meet the unknown doom her unrelenting persecutors had pronounced. The whole of the facts (for particular reasons) the author cannot feel himself at liberty to detail ; but so much has been stated as indicative of the manners of the Arabs of the coast ; similar mishaps in Persia being usually compounded by a small fine to the civil magistrate.

On the day of our departure, as I was about to embark, I was accosted by one of those wanderers, whom the chances of war, or more probably the restless spirit of the age, had led to these

foreign climes. After an attempt to impose himself for a man of rank, whom private reasons obliged to a temporary absence, he acknowledged himself, in imperfect French, to be a Russian prisoner, who was almost destitute of means, and was anxious to return home by Bussora or Bagdad. The story was sufficiently plausible, as numbers in this unfortunate predicament are frequently met with; I could not help surmising, however, that amongst those I saw, there must have been some whose condition and views were certainly different from the usual burden of their tale; so declining all interference with the captain of our vessel, who must indeed have received instructions from the British resident before he could have complied with my request, I went on board.

On the 13th we reached Karak, a low sandy island, where pilots are taken in. This place is remarkable in the history of the European settlements in the East, for the advantage made of its position (at the mouth of the Shat al Arab) by Baron Kniphausen, the Dutch resident at Bussora; who, plundered of his property, as the price of his release, and destitute of every resource but those he found in his own daring and activity, sought refuge in Karak with about fifty determined followers; and commenced from thence a system of annoyance and hostility on the commerce of the Turks, which forced them to that restitution, and to a renewal of those privileges of trade, which they had previously denied. This island had once belonged to the Portuguese, of whose ancient residence and religious worship the monuments may yet be traced, notwithstanding the zeal that has laboured to destroy these symbols of their faith. We have already noticed the advantages of its position, as commanding the trade of Busheer, Bussora, and Bagdad; whilst Ormus would equally command that of the Persian Gulf. The establishment of small garrisons in each of these islands, with our naval superiority, would place our commerce on a far more secure and respectable basis than it now rests upon; and probably at no increased expense beyond the charges of three missions that are now maintained. At present, our safety rests, and the continuance of our trade depends, on the

fickle will of abject yet overbearing slaves. By establishing ourselves in these positions, we might at once assume the "*oderint dum metuant*" towards the powers of the Gulf; and even increase our doubtful influence at the Persian court, by the constraint we might impose on these powers, or the countenance we might yield to their pretensions, as circumstances might direct. In the dignified position we occupy as a leading power in the East, we are sufficiently exalted to excite jealousy, without possessing that control in the Gulf which our naval superiority should command. Our force, though respected, is scarcely understood, from the weakness of the policy observed with the most paltry pirates of these coasts; whilst the very presents we lavish, are received as *tribute* by the Persian court. The Russians follow a far different policy in regard to Persia: they strengthen themselves in every point of contact, and *dictate* accordingly; whilst, as for ourselves, we only *hope* and *trust* in those delusive promises, of which the first reverse we experience will prove the nothingness and futility. We have a bright example before us, a convincing proof of the smallness of the exertion that must be made to insure success. We are more powerful, more able, more respected for our conduct, and more enlightened in our policy, than the Portuguese or the Dutch, in the period of their highest prosperity, when their fleets rode triumphant in the Persian Gulf, and defied the power of the Soldans, the Persians, and the Turks. It only remains that we should avail ourselves of the advantages we possess to their full extent, in order to command that influence, in Persia especially, which is necessary to the permanence and security of the empire we have obtained.

Beyond its position, Karak is only remarkable for those remains of popish superstition, which the Portuguese have always left behind as a monument of their martial fame and religious bigotry. One of their churches has been converted, by the popular traditions of an adverse faith, into the holy sepulchre of Peer Mahomed, the son of Aly, the prophet of the Persians and the Sheea sect. Crosses, painted tiles, and other devices, sufficiently point out the original purposes



of this building; it is only a change of forms and names, and it still remains an object of reverence and religious veneration. On his way to this church or tomb, the traveller passes a long subterraneous passage or aqueduct intended formerly to convey water from the side of a hill that is opposite; and which has holes cut at certain distances, for the admission of air and light. The nature of this work, might induce a belief that the population and wealth of Karak were originally more considerable than they are at present; though at the south end there are some caverns cut out of the solid rock, which must impress an unfavourable opinion of the manners and civilisation of a race that could reside therein. We have dwelt the longer on the description of this island, from the importance it might command, whenever we choose to avail ourselves of the advantages its position might afford. The fort that protects the landing place is built principally of stone, has a bastion at each of the four angles, and a ravelin in front of the gateway near the sea capable of mounting twelve guns; though at present it is in a very dilapidated condition.

The island of Bahreen is the only place, I believe, which remains to be noticed as deserving of attention, in our progress up the Persian Gulf. It is only celebrated, however, for its pearl fishery, and for some fresh-water springs at the bottom of the sea; from whence (at known depths) the divers frequently bring it up. We cannot speak from our own knowledge of the present state of the fishery; but if we may judge from the numbers and variety of the pearls we saw in Bussora, it cannot be on the decline. The pearls, I was informed, are finer and rounder than those of Ceylon, but lose their colour sooner, and fall considerably in their value within the first thirty years of their being brought up. There may be a great deal of idle fancy in the assertion; such however is the opinion that is entertained of their quality; though it is affirmed, on the other hand, that after this lapse of time, they are liable to no further change.

The passage down from Bussora to Busheer is frequently performed within two days: in going up, however, a greater time is required; and it was the 15th before we even reached the bar. We

took six days more, in tacking or kedging up the river ; passing two mud forts on the 19th, where a chain was formerly thrown across to impede the progress of our ships : an obstacle, however, that was avoided by one of our smallest cruisers, which sailed up the channel at the back of the island on the right, to the great astonishment of their opponents. On the 21st we reached Bussora, where, on landing, I was most kindly received and entertained by Dr. Colquhoun, our resident at the place ; a gentleman whose hospitality has been experienced by many others besides myself.

Our trade up the Gulf, of which we must now take our leave, is certainly considerable, and deserving of encouragement ; the returns being sufficiently assured and quick for commercial purposes. Besides our own vessel, there were in the Gulf at this time the *Kusrovy*, *Sophia*, *Mary*, *Elizabeth*, and a large grab not seen ; making a total of six large trading ships ; with four Company's cruisers and a frigate, besides a very great number of inferior craft. Supposing, therefore, that, with others we never met or heard of, there are eight or ten large vessels that make two trips within the year from Bombay, and three that only make one within the same period from Bengal ; we shall easily find, that, on the average of 300 tons to each ship, this trade employs near 7000 tons of shipping out within the year : and this exclusively of fighting ships, and inferior craft from port to port. We shall also find, that by including the voyage back, the tonnage is doubled, and amounts to 14,000 tons ; an object certainly of importance, if it were only for the means of employment which this trade affords. With crews of from fifty to eighty *Lascars*, a captain and two mates, and including the wear and tear of small stores, the expense of each Bombay ship, as I was informed, may be calculated at 2000 rupees per month ; the Bengal ships navigating at an expense somewhat greater, from the number of Europeans employed on board. Each of these ships may be worth sixty or seventy thousand rupees, with the guns and the stores on board ; and commonly freight, in the gross, for 12,000 rupees each for the voyage up, and the same for the voyage back. A capital of 600,000 rupees, or about 70,000*l.*, is thus em-

ployed in bottomry alone, and at the very lowest computation that can be made ; 48,000 rupees being also cleared annually by each ship, to cover the expenses of navigation, the interest of stock, and to replace the original fund. It is not to the profits of bottomry alone, however, that the advantages of this trade must be confined ; and the balance is in our favour, both from the extent of our exports, and a permanent advantage of exchange, founded on the depreciated value of their currency. We are not prepared to state the exact amount of the exports, or the returns, or of the duties and customs on the goods exported or sent back ; it may be seen, however, from what we have already stated of the profits on bottomry alone, that the trade in its other parts must be in some proportion equally extensive ; and very probably, at the least as advantageous to the capital employed, and to the public revenue. This trade is indeed (as I must believe if the statement I have ventured, on the best information I could obtain, is at all correct) as yet but little known or understood. The period, however, may still arrive, when more accurate knowledge shall direct competition in seeking its advantages, and in working the mine.

On the description of Bussora, we shall not enter at any length, it having been so often spoken of by other travellers. Meanly built, and extremely dirty, though enjoying the advantages of a healthy climate and a very considerable trade, I was informed it still contains a population of 80,000 souls ; a number probably somewhat less than could be reckoned before it was visited by the plague. Amongst these the Arabs predominate, in respect to their numbers, to their wealth, and to their influence ; some of the principal landholders, I was given to understand, having as many as eight or ten thousand men in their immediate dependence within and without the town. As these are, generally speaking, a very lawless set, and entirely devoted to their own immediate chief, it may be conceived, that the situation of the Motselime (a Turk) is little to be envied for its comforts or security. This governor, however, with about a thousand soldiers of various descriptions, whom he keeps in constant pay, contrives to maintain a tolerable

police within the walls, by opposing the great leaders to each other as occasion may present itself. Beyond the walls, however, the very word security is entirely unknown; the desert belonging to the Bedoos, who still preserve that independence which they have so long enjoyed.

Bussora, it is said, owes its origin to one of the Roman emperors; and was also the birth-place of another,—Philip the Arabian. It is divided by a creek that runs through it, and is surrounded by a paltry mud-wall, defended by circular bastions; the greater part of the space between the creek and wall being only occupied with gardens and date-plantations; so that, although it measures a circuit of full eight miles, there is not more than half the space within that is built up. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, however, of great extent, and weak defences, it has twice held out against the Persian kings; and was only taken by Kerim Khan after a long protracted siege. During my stay at Bussora, I was so fortunate as to meet some very agreeable companions; and being most kindly entertained by Dr. Colquhoun, the resident, who had a stud of forty or fifty of the finest Arabians I have ever seen, and which he kindly obliged us with, we contrived in general to pass away the time agreeably enough, by riding in the desert, reading, and visiting the baths. We had been warned on these occasions never to wander out by ourselves, lest we should be insulted; I must, however, confess, in justice to the people of Bussora, that although we paid less attention to this friendly caution than it probably deserved, we never met with the slightest annoyance or incivility within the walls; but found the people, on the contrary, sufficiently inclined to pay every attention to our rank and uniform which we could have wished. The case is not certainly the same in every city of the East; but the respect in which the British character is held at Bussora may be seen in the following trivial incident, which it were not otherwise necessary to relate. The extreme caution of Mahomedans in general, in regard to the intrusion of Franks on their women, is, I believe, well known: on one occasion, however, having

visited the hummums whilst it was full, I was conducted with a friend to one of the private baths, that was commonly reserved for the women only, and where we found five or six, who were immediately turned out, notwithstanding their clamours, to make room for us. As I felt aware of the impropriety of the intrusion, (some of the ladies being scarcely dressed,) and had an Arab servant with me to interpret, I immediately objected to the civility intended at their expense: we were informed, however, with many professions of the most devoted services, that the bath was at *our command*, though it were required for all the women of the place. It is certain we commonly paid a great deal more than other visitors, but I do not believe this extreme civility would have been shown to any others than ourselves.

On my arrival at Bussora, I had been informed by the resident, when he had first the kindness to invite me to his house, that it would be impossible for me to proceed for a considerable time; and I now found the occasion of this delay was the disturbances of the Pashalick. A new pasha, it seems, had been appointed for Bagdad; and as the old one was not inclined to resign his place, they had had recourse to the marshalling of their troops to decide their claims. Six months had now gone by, and they had not yet brought the argument to a conclusion; though, as far as we could understand, scarcely a man had fallen on either side. As a traveller that was anxious to get on, I could sincerely have wished them both a head the shorter for their pains: if it be recollected, however, that the head and the appointment commonly go together, there will be many with myself, I believe, who will think the inconvenience I suffered through this delay was of the two the most easily remedied; since, although time is not readily got back, a head, most certainly, cannot often be replaced. The two pashas being then in arms, the one within, the other without the capital, and the whole of the country between Bussora and Bagdad being equally divided by the contending factions, there was no remedy left for me but patience for a time. I amused myself, therefore, by compiling those notices of Arabia, the Arabs, the man-

ners and customs of these climes, which shall be the subject of one of the following chapters ; — a chapter I would offer under these circumstances, not entirely on the authority of my own assurance and belief, but as the result, in part, of the researches of others, as far as these have been confirmed by my own experience and knowledge of this extraordinary race, amongst whom I have dwelt, even in their tents in the desert land, and at whose hands I have received every kindness and hospitality it was possible to experience, during the month I spent entirely amongst them in my journey from Bussora to Bagdad.

## CHAPTER IV.

DEPARTURE FROM BUSSORA. — VOYAGE UP THE SHAT UL ARAB. — KORNA. — THE GARDEN OF EDEN. — THE EUPHRATES. — THREE WEEKS' RESIDENCE AMONGST THE BEDDOINS. — OCCURRENCES IN THE DESERT, AND ON THE ROAD. — WASSUT AND HYE. — MEETING WITH THE ARABIAN ARMY; THE ORDER OF THEIR MARCH DESCRIBED. — CONDUCT OF MY TURK. — ARRIVAL ON THE SITE OF BABYLON.

ON the 16th of January, 1817, Mr. Colquhoun, our resident, informed me, that the opportunity I had waited for then presented itself, if I felt prepared to commence the journey at so short a notice, and during a moment of so much danger and uncertainty. The dispatch brought by the Phoenix had been detained for the occasion, and the arrival of His Majesty's ship the Challenger, Captain Bridges, with a second, had rendered the attempt indispensable. The disorders already adverted to still prevailed; but as the period of their termination was quite uncertain, it was not an opportunity to be contemned; I therefore closed with a proposal so kindly meant, and employed myself in preparations for my departure on the ensuing day.

On the 17th, having dressed myself in the Arab dress I had previously purchased; packed up half-a-dozen shirts, my regimentals, a carpet, blanket, and a few papers in two canvass saddle-bags, I made my appearance in the breakfast-room prepared for a journey across half the world to our sea-girt isle; and was introduced to Aly Aga, Chiouse, my intended guide, — master and commander, as he pleased to think himself, servant, as I always treated and considered him. Aly Aga, Chiouse, or messenger, was a Turk, of about forty-five; who might have appeared full ten years older, from the life which he had led, had not an uncommonly strong constitution, and robust frame, withstood the great fatigues he had endured in his profession, and the potent draughts which he had quaffed. He was a man rather under

the middle size, but formed as if intended for a very superior height; his broad spreading chest and sinewy limbs seeming to belong to a Colossus that had been arrested in its growth. He was extremely filthy, even for a Turk; might have been the greatest liar on earth, had he not had another failing, that frequently checked him in the midst of all his boastings; and prided himself, next to the quantity he could drink, and the number of miles he had ridden, on his character for discretion, and his knowledge of the world, — that is, of the road between Bussora and Bagdad, which he had travelled much oftener than he could always count.

Since Aly Aga will figure as a principal character in the first part of the present narrative, I thought it necessary to introduce him with due formality to the notice of an indulgent reader. The first order he issued was, that I should prepare abundance of eatables (and drinkables, if I required them, *as he never touched any thing of the kind*) for the journey; and be ready to leave the residency at four. At half past five, he presented himself; equipped for the march in wide Turkish trowsers that reached up to his arm-pits, and were supported by a broad buff belt that contained a formidable battery, mounting three heavy pistols in the front, a carabine in the rear-face; with a long dagger and a sword; ramrods, pouches, and cartridge rolls, a score on either flank. He was in a great hurry of course: preparations of so imposing a nature could demand no less; and he was accordingly most peremptory in urging my departure, lest we should miss the tide. It was within half an hour of our usual dinner-time; and to exchange the comforts and sumptuous fare of the resident's table for a biscuit, the desert, and a muddy stream, was a mortification of the spirit and the flesh that could scarcely be endured. As on many occasions, however, when we are forced to yield to necessity, I was obliged to rest contented; and so took my leave of my worthy generous host, and the kind circle that surrounded him, who expressed their kind wishes for our success and the safety in our course.

The boat we embarked in was just large enough to hold two people at their length in the centre; whilst the front and stern were



taken up by my Arab servant, the boatmen, and a Turk on his way to join the vessel stationed off Korna, at the junction of the rivers. As our bark glided smoothly down the stream, passing the little date gardens on its bank, where many a wealthy lascivious Turk sat reclining, in the full enjoyment of coffee, slothfulness, and his chubook, my companions took leave of the various friends they met, with frequent appeals to God and Providence, in explanation of their destined course. "Ish Allah! (God being willing, said my Turk, to some holy derwishes,) we *intend* going to Bagdad; let us have the prayers of the faithful for our safety and success." "Faringee," said he to me, (with perfect assurance,) after he had counted piece by piece five feluce, the extent of his liberality, "I have given these holy men five roobeas on your account; be you also generous, and give them a buckshish. Ish Allah! (God being willing) we shall have their prayers and intercessions." I offered them a cruce, but not less than three could rid me of their importunities; as I was of course expected to make up the difference between the real and ostensible liberality he had displayed.

By the time we had reached the custom-house, which was about a mile or two from the residency, it was nearly dark; and my Turk having gone on shore, under pretence of obtaining the necessary permits, I was left alone in the boat to commune with myself, and ponder on the extraordinary journey I had before me, with the adventures and mishaps I might expect. The night was beautiful and clear, displaying the full extent of the mighty waters we had embarked upon. At a short distance, I could distinguish the two English brigs that had arrived, and mark the watches as they were set; nearer, the Arab boats were constantly passing; whilst the sturdy rowers kept time, as they plied their oars, to the mournful ditty of the bearded Charon at the helm. In these intervals of repose and contemplation, I frequently called to my Turk, whose voice I sometimes heard amidst the noise of tongues and bursts of merriment: when, however, I could obtain an answer, it was only to inform me, that he was more impatient than myself; but that we must wait until

his business had been dispatched, and the fortunate hour had arrived. As the night passed, the application was renewed, and checked with the like answer ; until at last I sunk from my waking dreams on the Shat ul Arab, to still more visionary scenes in those unknown regions we sometimes traverse in our sleep.

Early in the morning of the 18th, I was awoke by a tremendous explosion that shook our bark to its very centre, and seemed indeed the grand and concluding catastrophe of the visions of the night. The day had broken in upon me : I found myself alone and in the boat, in a strange sequestered spot. My Turk, my servant, and the boatmen, had all forsaken me ; I called, and no answer was returned ; I almost fancied myself in a dream, or awake to some unexpected and dreadful certainty ; when a second and a third explosion, which I easily distinguished as the signal guns for the break of day, dispelled the charm, and awoke the sleeping crew that were reposing on the shore. My rascally Turk, I found on enquiry, had got so drunk with his friends the holy derwishes at the custom-house, that in spite of the hurry he had been in, and his asserted anxiety to proceed, he had been unable to move ; and had insisted on spending the night on shore in the desert just beyond the town. He was highly indignant when I reproached him with his conduct, and abused his unfortunate accusers, the Arabs, most violently ; stoutly denying the charge of inebriety, as he sipped his morning draught. At last, however, he condescended to return on board, and we resumed our course, the trackers being desired to work hard, to make up for the time that had been lost.

At five P. M. we passed the tomb of Madee Sahebee Zuman, a descendant of the Prophet's, who has been dead upwards of a thousand years. The people expect he will return, mounted on a wild ass of the desert, when he will ride over the earth, subduing nations, and becoming the sovereign of the whole. A little further on the same, or Arabian, shore, we came to a high tower, which marks the tomb of Aly Ben Hasein, the nephew of the great Aly, and also a descendant of the Prophet's. Near this, having landed in the dusk

to cook, we had a very narrow escape of being plundered by the Arabs. We had scarcely lighted our fire under a bush, and begun the affairs of the kitchen, before a scout we had sent out gave the signal, and we were obliged to retreat; pushing off our boats and standing out in the river, as the Arabs appeared, shouting, hallooing, and attacking us with stones; whilst some presented their matchlocks, and threatened destruction to the whole of us, to deter the boatmen from their exertions in getting out the boat.

On the 19th, we reached Korna, at the junction of the Tigris and the Euphrates; happily without any further mishap, and without passing any other remarkable object, besides a mud fort on the eastern bank of the river, built by Mahomed Aly Khan when he came from Shiraze to the attack of Bussora. Korna is only a small village, with a station for the collection of the customs on the river, and a Turkish gun-brig that protects the navigation from the pirates, and enforces the payment of these duties.

The accompanying sketch will afford an imperfect idea of the grandeur of the scene exhibited by the junction of those two mighty rivers, which have been celebrated in history as the boundary of that happy fertile spot where our common father dwelt; the Tigris and the Euphrates having generally been esteemed the southern, south-west, and south-east limits of the garden of Eden or Paradise. The confluence of two such majestic streams forming an inland gulf of great extent, is certainly an imposing sight: I could find nothing, however, (except in the contrast with the surrounding desert,) that could mark Korna as the fertile happy spot which had been assigned to man before his fall. The few trees, and the little cultivation it may boast, are certainly as a garden in the midst of a barren, black, desolated wilderness: without this wilderness, however, it would be only a marsh overgrown with rushes, a few palms, and fifty or sixty miserable huts.

At Korna, we were entertained by some Turks and Arabs in the service of the Motselim of Bussora, who are employed there in the collection of the revenue. They gave us the most dreadful, and







Engraved by T. Fielding.

*Thorns in the Garden of Eden.*

*Engraving of the Garden of Eden, from the Bible, and the Garden of Eden, from the Bible.*



certainly very exaggerated accounts of the dangers and difficulties we might expect to encounter in our journey to Bagdad ; and my worthy Turk failed not to improve the alarm which these descriptions might have been supposed to have occasioned, by insisting on our passing the night on board the Turkish vessel on the Shat ul Arab as the only place of safety that could be found. Whether he was himself frightened, or merely wished to enhance the value of his services, I know not ; but certainly, according to his own account, it would be impossible to proceed on the ensuing day ; the intervening country being quite unsettled, and overrun with banditti, in consequence of the great contest near the capital. On board we went, however, in hopes of better prospects with the return of dawn ; and I was received by Aly Aga the commander, a venerable Turk of sixty, with every kind and considerate attention that could be shown.

On leading me into his state-cabin, he lamented the poorness of his fare and accommodations, and the want of an earlier intimation of my arrival ; as he feared, he said, I might feel offended at not having received the usual salute from his vessel ; adding, as a proof of his knowledge, and travelled breeding, that he knew our customs required this attention. The compliment was somewhat strained, unless he mistook me for an officer of much higher rank ; a compliment, however, never comes amiss, especially where it is accompanied by that real and genuine kindness, which evinces, at the least, a wish to please. I knew the exact value and bearing of these apologies, that were partly the effect of eastern politeness, and partly intended as a salvo to his own consequence and dignity, in offering such inferior fare. When the old man, however, kindly spread his best, and bade me partake of it ; when he ordered his best and only couch to be prepared for me, resigning the greater part of his cabin for my accommodation, I could not help feeling, that although a compliment and proffers of services are not always in this world proofs of sincerity, they may often enhance the favour, and double the obligation that is conferred.



When all our attendants, except a little slave of his own, had withdrawn, he entered at once into what he prefaced as confidential communications, regarding the character of my guide. "I have known," said he, "many English officers and gentlemen; I am sorry, indeed, to find you under the protection of so vile a caitiff, and profligate an infidel: he cares neither for the Prophet nor the law; and would drink this river dry, if it were not water; but he is a servant of the Moteslimes, so God be with him. God being willing, you may perhaps reach Bagdad; it would have been better, however, had you been quite alone, than with such a wretch." I had already formed my opinion of the fellow's character: the hint was not lost; and I was soon confirmed in the belief, that notwithstanding the *real* dangers of the road, I had more to apprehend from the folly and indiscretion of my guide, than from the unusual turbulence of the times. I arranged my plans accordingly, and from that day generally consulted with my Arab servant, in spite of all his complaints and all his threats of the evils I might entail upon myself.

On the 20th, early in the morning, we went on shore, after making a small present to the slaves and servants, and returning many thanks to my worthy host. We breakfasted with some Arab shaiks in the village, and at ten set off. At two P. M. we passed a river branching off to the right. At three we passed Nar Antar, the usual residence of the shaik of the Montifics at certain periods of the year. The place may be known from a distance, by a small building not unlike one of our eastern pagodas on the left bank; and a custom-house, for the collection of the river duties, is established at Tuckt on the opposite shore. At six P. M., having made about twenty-four miles, we tied our boat to the left shore, near some huts, at a small place called Mahabut, rather more than half way from Nar Antar to Mansurie, and rested for the night.

On the 21st, after passing Mansurie, which is a considerable town, with a custom-house subordinate to that at Korna, we came on a desert marshy tract entirely covered with bull-rushes on either side. Nothing can equal the dismal, melancholy aspect of the country we

had now before us. The river, extending itself in the loose soil it wanders through, seems to flow in a still mournful unison with the dreary scene on either bank. A wretched Arab here and there, like the gleam of light that just renders darkness visible, reminds the traveller, at long intervals, of the dreadful solitude of his course. The savage, haggard appearance of the stranger, his cautious, mistrustful looks; the desolate waste he flies to from the narrow path, at the most distant sight of a fellow-creature; equally impress the mind with the dreadful apprehension of impending harm. We passed through, however, without any accidents, or other alarms than those inspired by the mournful stillness of the scene, and the occasional apprehensions entertained, from a partial glimpse of some wretched creature, who was probably as terrified as ourselves at the unusual sight of his fellow-man.

Late at night, we moored our bark opposite Abâda, a village on the western shore; and distant three-and-thirty miles from our former resting place. On this occasion, I was desired by my trembling servant, and no less frightened conductor, to remain within the boat; as we were surrounded by various parties of the most lawless cruel tribes. I felt, however, so uncomfortable and fatigued from the confinement of my situation, that after a while I followed them on shore; where, crouched in the midst of fearful wretches like themselves, I found them listening, in dreadful apprehension, to some awful tale of the travellers we had met. I had always suspected my Turk of wishing to magnify the dangers of the undertaking, in order to enhance the value of his services. The times and state of the country were certainly most unfavourable: I could easily perceive, however, that the whole of our group were frightened greatly beyond what the appearance of any *immediate* danger could justify; as they even abstained from smoking, lest they should betray themselves to some passing scout. I felt too cold, benumbed, and uncomfortable, to imitate the cautious conduct they observed; so, after an attempt to persuade them to throw out sentries as videts, a duty no one would undertake, I quietly betook myself to my chubook, wrapped

up in my cumlin, and with my pistols and my sabre by my side. In this situation I found myself early in the morning; stronger nerves, or the ignorance, perhaps, of our real danger, with the certainty that a man who had nothing to lose, and was perfectly armed, had not much to fear from such wretched foes, having secured me that quiet rest which my companions had neglected to enjoy.

It was a cheerful, yet solemn scene that I awoke to. The moon and stars that shine on the desert, as on our cultivated fields, were serenely bright. My companions had cast off a portion of their fears; and with the cheerful smile of mutual confidence, were enjoying coffee, the chubook, and the caleean. The hour of our departure, however, had approached, and we set off at break of day, separating with mutual civilities from merchants and travellers whom we had met on this barren spot.

As we proceeded up the river on the 22d, passing several islands, and one or two inferior streams, we gradually left the marshy dreary fen, and entered on those more cheerful, cultivated scenes, which are always to be found in the neighbourhood of a town. On reaching Coot and Soobshook, my conductor went on shore to hire the horses we should require on our further course, whilst he desired us to proceed in the boat to the custom-house; where we were received with great civility by the Turkish officers in the service of the Motselim, who are employed at this station in the collection of the revenue. They were in a small arched building on the bank of the river, and entertained us politely with coffee, partaking with equal freedom of the excellent tobacco which I had brought.

Our stay here was protracted to the 24th, during which time I was frequently amused, by observing the dexterity with which the women crossed the rapid stream astride on a frail bundle of the rushes they had cut, and brought on their heads for sale or the repairing of their huts. The smallest boys, on similar occasions, prove equally expert in taking their herds across, by shifting from back to back, and directing the course of their buffaloes as they

float down the stream. For the delay we had experienced, I never could obtain a satisfactory reason; my Turk observing a dignified silence on the subject, and indulging freely in a last sup of rakee in the interim: at last, however, in an interval of partial sobriety we got into the boat.

On landing on the opposite shore, as soon as the horses were produced, I found my Turk was endeavouring to put me off with a less number than he had engaged to provide. The baggage was loading on those we were to ride, though besides a spare horse, in case of accidents, he ought certainly to have furnished one for my provisions and saddle-bags. So entirely, however, had he disregarded these original stipulations, that, independently of my own packages, he was for loading my two horses with many useless articles of his own. On objecting to this in a peremptory tone, which he had not perhaps expected I would assume, he stormed and raved in the usual style; but finding I was immovable, as the last resource, he declared I should have another; but that as he should be obliged to return for it, I must of necessity consent to be delayed another day. I saw plainly that his declarations on this score were likely to be fulfilled; and being anxious above all things to proceed, and to make up for the three days we had lost, I came at once to the resolution of presenting my new whitney blanket (the bulkiest, though perhaps the most necessary article I had with me,) to one of our friendly hosts. I had occasion afterwards to repent this liberality, during the many cold and dismal nights I spent in the open air at the most inclement season of the year: it was, however, an act of necessity; and I employed the few moments that were left, in a careful examination of the three unfortunate creatures that were doomed to carry with our weight, the disproportionate load of baggage my Turk was encumbered with.

In appearance, certainly, in the prominence of their bones, and the leanness of their flesh, in the spavins, splints, and windgalls they were troubled with, our horses might have rivalled the mighty steed of a far more celebrated character. I could easily perceive, however, amidst all

these blemishes and sores, that a *negative* preference in the choice might be adventured with perfect propriety. Out of the three, there were two certainly that were nearly blind, old, and broken kneed, though of the highest blood; the third, therefore, I might well conjecture, was intended for the conveyance of the bulky person of my worthy chouse: I formed my resolutions accordingly. He had pointed out the destined supporter of my weight and woes, the most miserable Rosinante the eyes of man ever rested upon, and was about to mount, (assisted by the shoves of half-a-dozen ragged laughing urchins,) when I called him back. "Aly Aga," said I, "do you think this horse you have given me will be able to carry me through the desert?" — "God is great," said he, "and merciful. He is the very best horse you could wish to have. He is thin just now; but if he were in condition, and in Mr. Colquhoun's stable, he would sell for more than half the horses he has there. Ish Alla! God being willing, he will carry you to Bagdad." The appeal was enough to confirm me in my resolutions, Mr. Colquhoun having one of the finest studs I have ever seen; so, walking up to the animal he had selected for himself, whilst he was appealing to the motley merry crew around us to vouch for the truth of all these follies, I sprang upon his horse's back, and ordering my servant to proceed, desired the astonished gaping reprobate to follow at his ease. The laugh was sadly against him on all sides. A Turk has no friends in the desert, and my servant joined heartily in the roar; so putting on the best countenance he could on such an occasion, he flapped his heavy carcase on the poor wincing miserable jade I had left him, and followed us at the best walk the creature could exert.

In riding through the town, scattered along the banks of the river, we observed a brick-built mosque of considerable extent, with a small college attached to it for holy mendicants and derwishes. It was the only respectable brick-building we had passed since our departure from Bussora; and a little beyond it, on the open space without the village, we reached the tent of Shaik Mahamood, brother of Shaik Hamood; who, during the absence of the latter with the army, officiated

as his deputy. He was also absent at the time of our arrival ; and to my great annoyance I found our progress was likely to be delayed until his return. I have since had reason to congratulate myself on the occurrence. Shaik Hamood is the chief of the Montifics, a principal tribe amongst the Bedooins of the desert, as described by Niebuhr ; I had, therefore, a favourable opportunity of observing their manners, if the expression may be used, at the court itself. Nothing can exceed the simplicity of living that may be observed in the tents of these eastern patriarchs. The pen cannot describe the unassuming courtesy, the open, generous hospitality of these lawless robbers of the desert, to the confiding traveller who throws himself on the honour of their tribes.

During the temporary absence of his father, the eldest son of Shaik Mahamood (a handsome youth of 16) was presiding in his stead. He was sitting on a carpet, in a large open tent, with a numerous retinue of venerable bearded chiefs, sitting or standing (according to their rank and occupations) on either side. The furniture of the tent consisted of the carpets only which they were reposing upon ; whilst their more favourite coursers were picketed in the vicinity ; and a few tents and large droves of camels filled up the surrounding scene. On our introduction, the youth gracefully rose, and kindly beckoned me, with intuitive politeness, to his side. Secretaries were reading dispatches ; messengers were receiving their orders ; whilst the pipe and coffee filled up the intervening time, until the expected arrival of their chief : the patient, hardy warriors of the desert, watching attentively, but not meanly obsequious, each nod or smile of their favourite hope ; and offering their opinions and counsels with perfect freedom whenever the occasion required it. At last, a general buzz announced the long-expected approach of the great personage : the council rose, (the youth himself setting the example,) and went out to meet the group that was advancing towards the tent. In the midst of this Shaik Mahamood himself stood conspicuous, for his superior size, the dignity of his presence, and the warlike, imposing vigour of his make. He appeared just returned with a

chosen band of followers from some secret and important excursion ; as the impatient, fretted steed could be yet distinguished leading off to his pickets, whilst the chief himself, with the smile of welcome and gladness on his open brow, seemed even yet to ponder on some mighty deed.

When he had reached the tent, and had seated himself, we went through the ceremony of another introduction, which he noticed by a gracious inclination of the body ; without resigning, however, the more important cares that seemed to occupy his mind even in the performance of those grateful attentions which politeness must command. A momentary pause ensued, during which he was apparently withdrawing within himself, to consider the probable contents of the dispatches we had delivered, and the demeanour it would be proper to assume : after which, he beckoned us to sit down ; and the motion was followed by those who were entitled to a similar honour in the presence of their chief.

Every kind of business, apparently, is transacted in public ; those only being within immediate hearing, whose discretion and fidelity may be relied upon. The reading of the letters we had brought from the Motselim of Bussora, with other matters, occupied a considerable time ; the Shaik turning round at intervals to the elders of the tribe, to make appropriate remarks, and affixing his seal as a signature to the answers he had dictated in return. Though I could not understand what was said, (my servant, who acted as my interpreter, being just then absent,) I could easily perceive he was perfectly conversant with business, as he kept no less than three or four secretaries employed, whilst he conversed at times with those around. After a while, he informed us our passports and guides should be ready before the entertainment he wished us to partake of was concluded. This was a personage of too high a rank to have his invitation refused ; I was obliged, therefore, to rest contented with this additional delay.

The preparations for the feast were certainly conducted in a style of profuse hospitality, which I was not prepared to expect. Three or

four buffaloes' hides sown together, were spread upon the ground, in the midst of the large circle that had filled the tent, and extending several feet beyond the outer wall. It was easy to perceive, from the grease and filth it was loaded with, that this delectable table-cloth had descended as an heir-loom in the family, for many successive generations: the guests, however, approached its wide circumference with the appetites of hunters preparing for the chase. A long train of slaves and servants now appeared, extending from the private tents to the presence, and each bearing in his hands a mighty tray, loaded with coarse black rice, and the legs, heads, and bodies, of many a slaughtered sheep, which I had seen browsing in perfect tranquillity an hour or two before. I had soon occasion to perceive that their skill and care in the cookery was about equal to the simplicity of their manner of serving up. Large pieces of the skin, that had been neglected to be flayed, were hanging in loose folds or patches on many a goodly joint; and the whole appeared, in truth, as if the animal had been torn to pieces, by the hungry dogs that now approached, waiting, at a respectful distance, their expected gleanings of the feast.

The whole being quickly arranged, the "Bism Allâh, Irrachmân, Irrachim," or grace, was pronounced in an audible voice; and the chief, dashing his brawney fist into the nearest heap, set us an example I was constrained to follow from pure civility, and to avoid offence. A meeting of our worthy well-fed citizens, assembled to discuss the merits of a turtle or a venison-feast, could not have partaken of such delicacies with greater glee and avidity than were displayed by my worthy hosts in their joint attack on this simple fare. The utmost silence prevailed for a while, until the chief, having satisfied the first cravings of a keen appetite, looked round, and encouraged his guests to persevere. I was so unlucky, at this moment, as to attract his attention; when, observing me at a stand, my stomach being in a very critical unsettled state from all I had witnessed, he seized a remaining head with part of the neck and shoulders hanging to it, and fastening his claws in the cavities of the



eyes, divided the morsel in two, and beckoned me to eat. I felt this as the concluding stroke to the sickly feeling that was stealing over all my faculties : after an attempt, therefore, I was obliged to resign my seat ; and the remaining guests, all rising in their turn, their places were supplied by some inferior company, that was only entitled to appear at the conclusion of the feast.

Whilst these also were withdrawing, the servants handed water round (as before dinner) to wash our hands ; and the hungry curs, that had been kept off with difficulty, now rushed in with canine ferocity, attacking the bones, the wooden trays, and the hide itself. In a moment every thing was clear ; and coffee being handed round to all the guests, (the youth standing up respectfully behind his father, as during the whole of the entertainment, and presenting him with the cup,) we smoked the parting pipe, and prepared to mount. " Stranger," said the chief to me at parting, (as it was interpreted,) " I understand thou art a servant of the great Aly's. Thou art come a weary dangerous pilgrimage, and art arrived in the day of strife. When thou art presented to the Pasha, (as God being willing thou shalt reach Bagdad in safety, with the assistance of my guides,) tell him thou hast dwelt with the Montifics at Coot, in arms, and for the support of his cause. God being willing ! for he is great ; the son of the mighty Solyman shall not bend to a Georgian slave. Sayud Pasha," accompanying the word with one of those motions it was not easy to misunderstand ; " Sayud Pasha is the Pasha of the Montifics."

This tribe has frequently infested the road from Bussora to Bagdad, possessing many of the villages from the first place to Ardje, and from Korna to the same ; and retiring to the desert whenever it was attacked by a superior force. At one time they went so far as to besiege Bussora itself : their insolence, however, was severely chastised by Solyman Kaichja, who succeeded afterwards to the pashalic of Bagdad ; and who, after the example of his father-in-law, the celebrated Achmed Pasha, contrived frequently to attack them unexpectedly with equal vigour and effect. Achmed Pasha (it is

related) having on one occasion been so fortunate as to take Shaik Shadun, the reigning chief, a prisoner, was so generous as to grant him his release, but with a strict injunction to conduct himself with greater regularity, and to pay his tribute at the appointed time. The same disorders, however, again prevailing, he sent his son-in-law Solyman Kaichja against them, with a small select force, which attacking their camp unexpectedly, had the address to seize their shaik a second time. The Arabs of the present day are still enthusiasts in their praise of the valour he displayed in his defence; for when his lance and sword had failed, he fought it out with his battle-axe; and even struck at his enemies with the heavy stirrups of his saddle when this weapon had been wrenched from him; refusing, though a prisoner, after a desperate resistance, to yield to those humiliating conditions which the victor endeavoured to impose. "I am descended from a long chain of noble and warlike ancestors," the stern captive replied, enumerating their titles: "thou canst not name the sire\* that gave thee birth, the mother that bore thee in her arms: the chance of war has made me thy prisoner, but shall not tarnish the honour of my tribe." A more generous foe had praised the spirit which adversity could not subdue: Solyman, however, struck off his head with a blow of his scimitar, and sent it to the presence.

After this, the other shaiks thought proper to submit; and eighteen of them presented themselves on the same day, believing their submission would be accepted: Solyman, however, who thought such an opportunity could never again present itself, ordered their heads to be struck off; so weakening the tribes (in the loss of their chiefs) by this barbarous policy, that they remained tolerably quiet and submissive for a time. The Turks cite these campaigns of Solyman's in testimony of their courage; the Arabs, even to this day, with curses and abhorrence, as having been attended with the greatest and most wanton cruelties.

\* Solyman Kaichja was a Georgian by birth, and had been purchased in his youth by Achmed Pasha.

We had not proceeded above two miles beyond the tents when the lowering storm burst forth upon us, drenching us to the skin. In a few minutes, the ground was so wet, that our horses sunk up to their knees at every step; whilst they were so frightened by the lightning and the trembling looseness of the soil under them, as to become almost unmanageable. My Turk, who longed for the flesh-pots and onions we had left behind, made fifty excuses for returning for the night:—as I felt, however, that my days of ease and comfort could only commence from the period of my return to European society, I was equally anxious to proceed. When people pull different ways in this world of strife, they are not likely to agree. On this occasion, even my servant was against me, though usually fond enough of humiliating the Turk: I cut the matter short, however, by urging my horse through the heaviest ground, and by deriding them for their want of skill and horsemanship. The attack was not fair, most certainly, as I was by far the best mounted of the three; but it answered a present purpose, and forced them to exert themselves:—so after riding about ten miles, we came to a small encampment, where it was resolved we should pass the night. I was by this time as anxious for rest as my lazy Turk; and our horses, indeed, had scarcely a leg to stand upon, from the heaviness of the ground and marshes we had cleared. I felt happy, therefore, in the scanty accommodations the meeting afforded, though these were confined to the luxury of a small fire, and the shelter of a miserable tent.

Hospitality is certainly the national virtue of the Bedoos of the desert. The poor creatures had very little of their own: they produced it, however, with the smile of welcome; and after awhile, the carpets were extended across the tent for our repose. Fatigued as I was, though drenched to the very skin, I was soon asleep; but was awakened by the heavy load of carpets and cumlins collected for our use, and which, having just arrived, were spreading over us by our attentive host and his family. It was evident they were depriving themselves of their own covering for our accommodation, and would be obliged to sit up for the night: no entreaties, however, could per-

suade them to the contrary : so after smoking a pipe with the watchers, and filling their chubooks from my pouch, I again composed myself to sleep. Early on the morning of the 25th, I resumed my course, accompanied by the guide that had been furnished us on the preceding day.

25th. At eight A. M. we crossed a rivulet emptying itself into the Euphrates. It flows on the boundary of the original abode of fallen man. Alas ! how changed this paradise ! It is now a barren waste, that scarcely produces a scanty crop of the coarsest grain. We halted at twelve for a short time in the open air with Shaik Hubeeb ; resumed our march at one P. M., and put up for the night with an old venerable shaik, who was encamped seven hours' journey, or near eight-and-twenty miles, from our former resting-place. The country, throughout the day, which forms part of ancient Mesopotamia, presented only that degree of inferior husbandry which is necessary to the subsistence of a thinly-scattered population. A great proportion of the ground, very probably, lies fallow for many successive years, after which it is ploughed in a very superficial manner ; and, with the advantages of rest, and the manure of their flocks, produces the scanty return which is just sufficient for this simple, abstemious race.

26th. After marching four hours through a flat country, presenting nearly the same aspect as that already described, we put up in the tents of Shaik Ibrahim ; a youthful, gallant chief, of six or eight-and-twenty, who is the terror of the surrounding tribes. During the whole of the preceding day we had been greatly annoyed by the curiosity of our guide ; who, being a shrewd, inquisitive fellow, constantly on the alert, was by no means satisfied with the story of my being a Georgian in the service of Aly Pacha ; a character my servant and Turk, it seems, had given me, to account for the fairness of my complexion, and to ensure my safety. Aly Pacha is greatly respected by all these tribes for his successes over the Wahabees, the enemies of their faith ; and our guide, as on the former day, endeavoured to sift the truth, by asking me a number of questions (as soon

as we had seated ourselves) regarding the posture of affairs between Aly and the Wahabees. As my fool of a servant had neglected to apprise me of the part I was to act, I was a good deal puzzled by the various enquiries that poured in upon me from every side as soon as my new quality was known; especially as these were put in a language of which I scarcely understood a word. My guide and Turk had been quarrelling all the way, in consequence of the fellow's impertinent curiosity; and the rascal, to revenge himself, desired our host and his grave counsellors to observe, that I never spoke, and that my servant made all the answers for me. On this he was desired to confine himself to his duties as an interpreter, and a very appalling examination was commenced.

I knew no more of the Wahabees or of Aly Pacha, my reputed master, except in a general way, than of the man in the moon: our sapient judges, however, hearing the monosyllable Aly, and the tremendous name of Wahabee, bandied about between my servant and myself in a language that had some affinity to their own; were easily convinced that I was acquainted with this great personage. On some hint from my Turk, that I had been born at a great distance, and had been a prodigious traveller, they gravely observed that a native of the Crimea could not be expected to speak *their dialect*; and my servant desiring me to say any thing I chose, undertook to mould my answers to their proper form. This might have proved the most unlucky arrangement that could well have been resorted to, had any of my auditors been as well informed of the politics of Egypt as they were eager to obtain information on this favourite topic; my servant, who was extremely ignorant, making such blunders in his geography, dates, and numbers, as I could not always rectify. The fellow was in truth so frightened at the thoughts of a discovery, and so perplexed in the interpretation, that he scarcely knew what he said. He made out my reputed master to be older by half a century than any of our reverend auditors; declared him to have more numerous armies than the Grand Signior or the Persian Shah; and in fact might have exposed us most com-

pletely, had not the brutality of my Turk, and his gross abuse of some of the company, withdrawn the general attention from the subject by giving the conversation another turn.

I have often wondered since, how it was that the fellow's intolerable insolence had not drawn its deserved punishment on the whole of us, from the high-minded race whom he scrupled not to abuse on every occasion with the most provoking scurrility. In the present instance, however, we had an example of moderation and forbearance set us by these lawless robbers of the desert, which it would be well if the most civilised nations could always imitate. "Friend or foe," said the chief, after the tumult had been appeased, "believer or infidel, *you all enjoy the protection of our tents!*" After the expression of a sentiment, sublime perhaps, from the single majesty of the thought, there ensued a dead calm amongst the whole of those, whose hands had even then grasped the dagger to revenge the insult that had been offered them. At this moment the favourite child of our host ran in, laughing with infantine archness at the women who had endeavoured to keep him from a nearer view of the strangers in the tent. He seized the arm that had kept me back with assurances of safety and protection, and was soon in his father's lap. "You are perhaps a parent," said the chief: "have you ever seen the equal of my boy? If he were strong enough, he would throw the spear as dexterously as myself, though scarcely four years old." A reed being handed him by one of the complaisant circle, the urchin hurled it with mimic precision at our grumbling Turk; and in a few moments every other thought was engrossed in the general praise of the favourite boy. Observing the influence the young gentleman possessed over his affectionate father and the obsequious group, I completed the favourable impression his introduction had produced, by presenting him with one of our small gold coins as a charm to hang to his neck. We had been previously told, it would be impossible to proceed on the ensuing morning from the dangers of the road: the shaik now informed us, that although he had wished us to halt for a while until the danger was over, he would, if

absolutely necessary, and we desired it, supply us with proper guides.

27th. After marching for two hours with our new conductor, the former one having refused to continue with us, in consequence of his quarrel with the Turk, we reached a considerable town called Shatra. I would estimate Shatra to be at least sixty miles from Coot ; and it was the first town we had passed since our departure from that place ; being composed of regular mud-houses, and supplied with a bazar. Shaik Hassud, a man of about seventy, with his eldest son, was holding a regular durbar. They sat at the upper end of a large commodious tent ; surrounded by fifty or sixty of the elders of their tribe, reading letters, receiving reports, and debating a subject that seemed of very considerable importance, from the earnest attention of their looks, and their evident anxiety. After our introduction, the Shaik declared it would be impossible to relieve our guide, or indeed to proceed on at any rate beyond the place ; perhaps, not even to return. The whole of the country was infested with robbers, as they styled their brethren. Their cattle had been driven off that very morning, by a band of plunderers, that had even entered the streets during the night. The greater part of their youth were out in the pursuit, and scarcely a horse was left. Our guide, on the other hand, when consulted, absolutely refused to proceed a step beyond the place, for the largest offers that we could make. He had exposed his life, he said, by venturing thus far, and further he would not budge for all the papers or orders the superior lord had granted us at Coot. We were obliged, therefore, to sit down to the dinner that now appeared, with the comfortable expectation of being detained for a considerable time, or obliged to retrace our steps to the tents of our generous host, the robber Ibrahim.

During the meal, which was the only decent, comfortable one I had enjoyed for a week, my Turk, as usual, got into a most violent quarrel with our entertainers, for refusing guides, and on account of their curiosity regarding myself. He addressed some of them in a style of threatening abuse, which words can scarcely translate ; de-

voting their wives, daughters, mothers, sisters, and all the females of their tribe, to every kind of insult and violation; until at last the younger chief rose up, in a paroxysm of rage and indignation, declaring we should not enjoy another instant the protection of their homes. Had we been expelled the tent, as was threatened by the violence of his action, and the fury of his looks, it is probable we might have been massacred at the door; for although a breach of the rites of hospitality is extremely rare amongst these wanderers, they are not often provoked with impunity. The elder chief, however, throwing himself in the way of his enraged frantic son, succeeded with some difficulty, in restraining him from the extremes of violence, by observing, that my servant and myself, at least, were innocent of the crime, and might suffer in the fray. I had often thought that the vulgar scurrility of this drunken reprobate was the chief obstacle to our progress; but I could now perceive, it was certainly calculated to withdraw the general attention from myself. It was not, perhaps, an intentional stratagem, as the rascal had been often accused by my Arab of venting the grossest abuse on me; it afforded us, however, an opportunity of making friends, in the contrast our behaviour was calculated to present.

The obtaining of an escort or a guide, after all this violence, was now totally hopeless. My Turk endeavoured to smooth the way to a reconciliation, by impudently asserting, with a laugh, that his conduct was only intended as a joke for the amusement of his worthy friends of the desert; who all knew Aly Aga well: he was a poor chieuse of the Motselims, on his way to Sayud Pasha, and being amongst old acquaintances, had thought he might indulge. The excuse, however, had very probably been too often repeated on former occasions to serve his turn; and there was scarce an Arab that would even condescend to listen to the apology. He was, therefore, obliged to implore the intercession of my servant, (with many professions of anxiety for my personal safety,) to induce a Sayid to accompany us to the nearest tribe; the Sayids, as descendants of the Prophet, being persons who are held in such high esteem, as to be generally



a very sufficient protection where the sanctity of their character can be known. To occasion the death of any one of those, who have attained a character for superior sanctity from the holiness of their lives, would be an offence of the first magnitude ; and the exposing themselves betwixt the combatants, if their party is attacked, is commonly sufficient to restrain the superstitious wanderer from the attempt. The holy personage who was spoken to on this occasion, and approached with fearful reverence, was perfectly aware of the value and necessity of the services that were required of him ; he accordingly demanded a most exorbitant remuneration for his pains. My Turk, now retiring aside with my servant and myself, endeavoured to persuade me, by various arguments, to contribute a share of the expense. As I had, however, made a *regular contract* for my conveyance to Bagdad, and had seen, on two or three occasions, that if I once yielded, I should be liable to continual impositions, I absolutely refused to advance a single abassee of the demand ; telling him, I felt myself perfectly secure where I was, if it were not for the brutality of his own conduct ; that the business was his, not mine, as he was to get me on in any way he could ; whilst, as for danger, I had nothing about me that would enrich the poorest robber of them all ; not even the trifle he demanded, in defiance of all his promises and the agreement he had made. Perceiving his rhetoric, therefore, to be thrown away, he was obliged to return to the Sayid ; and after detaining us a considerable time, by his wrangling for a few piastres, we at last set off ; our holy conductor desiring us to repose the most implicit confidence in his protection, and manœuvring his sleek Arabian with the address of the most perfect soldier of them all.

Our course now lay through a perfect desert, Shatra being the northern boundary of the *little* cultivation that can be distinguished above the junction of the rivers. We proceeded for two hours in a melancholy silence, my Turk pondering over the expenses his rudeness had occasioned him, myself on the delay we had experienced, and my servant on the dangers we had escaped, and had yet to

encounter. Suddenly, in a flat dreary tract overgrown with furze and brush-wood, we came to the bank of a river, that bears the name (amongst the Arabs) of the town we had left behind. We had scarcely descended the steep declivity, that leads to this hidden stream by a narrow rugged path, before the hideous battle shout of the Bedoosins assailed our ears; and we found ourselves surrounded, in a moment, by the most uncouth, savage, ruffian race, we had yet encountered; and who seemed to rise from the parent earth, with their bristling spears and pointed guns, a dreadful, ruthless, savage progeny. Our Sayid certainly behaved with the greatest coolness and intrepidity on this trying occasion. Urging his able courser forward without the slightest hesitation, he sprang off his back in the midst of them, and throwing himself on the ground in the prostrate attitude of devotion, placed a small brass amulet inscribed with sentences from the Koran under his head; beginning the recital of his creed in a loud, monotonous, yet impressive tone. On the instant, every voice was hushed, the dreadful yell that had spread far and wide around us subsided in the solemn sound; and as the prayer was continued, the arm was unnerved that had raised the sword to strike; the hand was withdrawn, that had reached the fatal key of destruction, and all was peace; their spears dropping on the ground, as they joined, with fervent zeal, in the sacred devotions of our holy guide. Not a man arose from the supplicating posture they had all gradually assumed, until the Sayid himself had set them the example; when, exchanging compliments of gratulation with our late dreaded enemies, we joined in the extensive circle, and endeavoured to improve the friendly understanding which the presiding spirit of religion had inspired, by presenting them with our pipes, and replenishing their chubooks. It was not the first time I had observed the mighty influence of a pipe full of this favourite weed, with the wandering robbers of these shores. Holding but little intercourse with the more settled tribes, and only visiting the towns at distant intervals, they are frequently in want of this refreshing and valued luxury. A very little kindness in this way, therefore, will do

wonders; and is safer than presents in money, which only excite cupidity. On the present occasion, our liberality was as boundless as our fears had been great, and our situation critical; and after prolonging the enjoyment to the utmost, conversing the while, and enquiring the news, the boats were announced as having arrived; and we prepared to cross, supporting our horses by the bridle as they swam the stream.

On reaching the further bank, our new acquaintances desired us to keep close and amongst them, lest we should be marked off by any of their scouts who were reposing in the brush-wood, before the friendly terms we were upon could be understood. With these necessary cautions, and conversing, as we passed, with the shepherds that were watching their flocks, we reached their encampment, about two miles from the river bank. As soon as we had entered, our Sayid again went to prayers, and on rising, bestowed his benedictions on all the company, with a profuse liberality that won every heart; even the women crowding around him to present their children to his holy touch, expecting to derive increased fecundity from the contact and the powerful intercessions of this earthly saint. During these varied scenes, wherein I could observe the mummery of hypocrisy combined with the most sublime effects of religion, "the spreading of peace, and the protection of the weak from the hand of rapine," I enjoyed abundant leisure for observing the manners and condition of the new tribe we had come amongst. These were certainly the very poorest and least civilised of any we had yet met. Their sole wealth, their flocks, consisted only of sheep; and we could scarcely distinguish a camel or a horse amongst the whole of them. Their tents were pitched in a regular square or oblong, on a large open space which they had cleared for the occasion; the brush-wood they had cut down, being disposed in a kind of fence, to protect them from a surprise. Within the open space in the center of the square, their flocks had been driven for the night; the opening being fastened up with that cautious attention which indicated the apprehensions that were entertained. Never before, or

since, have I ever witnessed such absolute misery of condition as was evident in the wretchedness of their looks, and the savage, haggard features of the whole of them. I could count in our circle only about 30 men who were in their prime; the rest being old worn-out creatures, or half-starved puny youths, with scarcely a hair upon their lips. On the whole, I thought it probable, that with men, women, and children, in the other tents, their numbers might extend to 300 at the most. Our entertainment, the night we left Coot, was perfect luxury to this; they had nothing but the blackest, coarsest rye cakes to offer us, and even these in very scanty portions; it having been necessary to make a collection round all the tents, before a sufficient supply could be obtained. When the flour, however, had been brought, we could hear the women of our host, across the tent, employed in kneading it into dough; after which, large heavy cakes, full three feet in circumference and two inches thick, were thrown in front of us on the glowing embers of our fire and left to bake.

It was certainly a curious scene, and these people were greatly different from the rest of the Arabs we had met, as to their dress, their manners, and that melancholy expression of the countenance, which is so entirely different from the lively, restless features, that distinguish the Beddoins. If it was owing to the evils of their poverty, their condition was wretchedness indeed. Their eyes seemed to devour our well-fed, well-clothed party; and when the small supply of cake had been consumed, I could almost fancy, from the unsatisfied impatience of their looks, they were about to spring upon us, and make themselves amends for that portion of their scanty stores which we had shared.

I repeatedly asked my servant questions on every thing I could observe that was different from the manners of that open-hearted gallant race we had so lately dwelt amongst. The only answer, however, I could obtain, was a fearful injunction to silence, lest we should excite suspicion, by the closeness of our conference. I often endeavoured, even afterwards, to draw the fellow forward into con-

versation on the subject; with a kind of superstitious dread, however, he always shrunk from the enquiry, without even having recourse to the usual plea of a total ignorance. It was a subject that could not be named. Even Aly Aga would not have come amongst them, had he known they occupied the road. They were infidels, practising the most horrible abominations; and who cared neither for the Prophet, the Koran, nor the Shaik of the Montifics. When I dwelt on the reverence they had shown to our holy man, and their observance of prayer, I was told the Sayid could never be hurt; that if a lion were to meet him in the desert, he would turn from the saint in peace: he was known to all the country round. As for my Turk, he was generally impracticable on most occasions; being on this, especially, extremely taciturn. I have since conjectured, from the enquiries I could make in other quarters, that they were in religion Mahomedans; but of a race that had relapsed into heresies; practising divination and other rites, which the more rigid believers shrink from with abhorrence; and being equally wretched and superstitious in the habits of their lives. As it was not extremely honorable to my servant or my Turk to have partaken of their hospitality, or to have broken bread with them, they were naturally averse to the enquiry, and always shrunk from the recollection with a sensitive feeling I could not otherwise have explained.

The 28th. After a most uncomfortable night, the rain frequently penetrating through the tent, on rising in the morning, we resumed our course. The country we journeyed through was still the most complete desert that could be imagined; no cultivation, no tents whatever could be distinguished: the only vegetation that we could perceive, was a weak sickly furze, which the camels alone can eat. At two P.M. we swam our horses across a small river, with considerable difficulty; and at half past two halted at a mud-house, in a small village belonging to Shaik Hujahood. There was something different, I think, in the manners of every tribe we met; which may probably mark the little intercourse that subsists between neighbouring hordes in these desert climes; or is, perhaps, the effect of the character of the reigning shaik.

On the present occasion, every thing bore the semblance of comparative affluence and comfort, when opposed to the wretchedness we had left behind. The few fields that were cultivated on the banks of the stream, and around these huts, had an appearance of promise and fertility in proportion to their small extent. The chief himself was a man of the most dignified, courtly demeanour; and in the small circle around him there was a show of decorum accompanied with the most punctilious civility. Our dinner, for the first time, was composed of the finest rice; and after the meal, a few cakes were handed round on clean earthen-ware, which the most fastidious epicure could have partaken of with pleasure, even without our usual preliminary fast, or the labours of a march of thirty miles. The only thing I could find to condemn, was the extreme length of their devotions before retiring to rest; and their anxiety that we should all join in the solemnity of the scene. On occasions of the kind I had generally retired to a corner, at the proper time, and composed myself to an apparent sleep; observing with curious attention the ceremonies of their faith. In the present instance, however, I received a friendly hint from one of the company as soon as the first call to the "Aksham nemazee," or evening prayers, had been pronounced. I answered the intimation, for want of words, by pointing to my feet, and by pressing my loins in bending forward, as if exhausted with fatigue. The excuse would not serve my turn; and my servant was obliged to come forward with an apology, by declaring I was in that unclean state (as a traveller that had not performed his ablutions for thirty days) which precludes believers from joining in religious exercises.

The prayers had now commenced, the preliminary acknowledgment of a God, the Tekbeer, Allah u Akbar! Allah u Akbar! (God Most High! God Most High!) resounded from every side. Sabhané rebb il azim, (thy name be exalted, oh great God!) which is called the Tessbih, with the Sena, the Bismillah, and the creed, were pronounced in the loud sonorous voice of our Sayid, and repeated in the deeper hollow tones of our host. To the Christian or the Mahomedan, the believer or the infidel, it was a scene of solemn, impressive,

simple majesty, that was followed by the repetition of prayers I was not sufficiently acquainted with to distinguish or understand.

On the ensuing morning, after a march of three hours through the desert, we reached Wassit, once the capital of Mesopotamia. The part that is now inhabited, a small oblong space defended by a miserable wall, can only bear a very inferior proportion to the entire circumference of the extensive capital of a mighty empire. It may not even exactly occupy the former site; it is nearly, however, in the position geography and history would direct the traveller to notice in his enquiries; and is surrounded, on every side, by those evident *traces* of an extensive city and numerous buildings, which sufficiently mark the general identity of the spot, with the space it formerly occupied. Had I known, as I afterwards understood from Mr. Rich, our resident at Bagdad, that I was the only European traveller besides himself, who had visited these scenes of ancient celebrity, I should certainly have been more particular in my observation of those remains which are yet visible. As it is, I can only observe, that very extensive ruins in straight lines, and nearly in parallel directions to each other, may yet be distinguished *in the inequalities of the ground*; and also in the fragments that show themselves, *wherever the rains have washed away the soil*. These remains are so plain, as to have attracted my attention, even before I was aware of the ground I trod upon; for it was only in describing the spot on my arrival at Bagdad, that my recollection was called to the original position of a city, of which I had never expected to meet with the slightest traces; and which I had therefore neglected in the cursory enquiries I could pursue.

On the 30th, our party was joined by a merchant returning to the capital, and by a messenger proceeding from Shaik Mahamood to his brother Shaik Hamood's camp. We rode through a complete desert for five hours, the country between Shatra and Bagdad being indeed entirely desolate, except in the vicinity of each temporary camp; where the cultivation of a few vegetables of rapid growth, and requiring little care, may be distinguished. We could not even find a dirty

puddle of water on the road throughout a distance of twenty miles ; and the day being extremely close and sultry for that season of the year, we suffered equally from thirst and the clouds of dust which the wind blew in our face. Inconveniences, I believe, seldom come alone ; and we experienced a considerable degree of alarm during this march from the unexpected appearance of several small bands of wanderers. A party of five well mounted Arabs, in particular, advanced on us so suddenly from behind some trivial elevations which had concealed them, that we had scarcely time to prepare ourselves, before they charged amongst us at full speed, and with their lances couched. This proved, however, an alarm only, one of the very many indeed we were doomed to encounter in our course ; for finding us as numerous, and perhaps better armed than themselves, they greeted us with the Salam Alik, and after a few words permitted us to pass. We reached Hye at noon ; a small miserable town on the banks of the river of the same name ; and discharging our friendly Sayid, were entertained by the inhabitants, in a wretched hut within the walls.

We had now two roads before us, the one by a second place of the name of Coot, at the junction of the Hye river with the Tigris, and the other passing by Hella and Babylon. The variety of information and advice we received perplexed us exceedingly, since, according to the several accounts we could collect, they were equally infested with robbers and wandering savage tribes. I employed the evening in reconnoitring the environs of this place, where traces of former buildings could be distinguished, which sufficiently indicate that it was formerly more extensive. On my return to our hut, we met an aged, venerable man, who warned my servant and myself from trusting ourselves to Shaik Mahamood's messenger, and against proceeding by Coot ; but we had been favoured with so many intimations of this nature against both these roads, that not knowing which to choose, I felt entirely indifferent as to our course.

In the morning, I found my Turk had decided for proceeding by the western road ; and as in matters of the kind I generally sub-



mitted to his directions with implicit confidence, I mounted my horse and followed for the ford below the town. We had now the protection of an escort of five or six well mounted men ; but in crossing the stream my unfortunate servant, who was riding on the smallest and weakest horse, was nearly carried down by the rapidity of the current, and must have been lost, had not our escort exerted themselves in the most gallant style, plunging their able coursers below the jaded hack he rode, and supporting him against the pressure of a stream four or five feet deep that had taken the animal off his legs. At a little past one, we halted in the desert, at an Arab camp that had just been fixed by one of Shaik Hamood's tribes returning from the contest near the capital. Their tents had scarcely been pitched for the principal chiefs, who were yet in the rear ; and some hundreds of camels were all loose, and grazing around the rising camp, when we presented ourselves. Shaik Mahamood's messenger, however, introduced our party, and we were received with becoming hospitality. " It is fortunate," said the first chief we were presented to, " when brothers can thus be met ; for we are returned from a scene of strife, hurly-burly, and confusion, which makes it a wonder to me how you passed our scouts without being attacked." We mentioned the advantage we enjoyed in the company of Shaik Mahamood's messenger, but he declared, with an expressive gesture, the times were such, that he felt happy for his part his head was left him on his shoulders to return to his family at Coot. The assertion was somewhat strained ; in the desert, however, men are allowed a certain latitude in the similes they employ to express their meaning.

The reports we had hitherto received concerning the transactions near Bagdad, in the great struggle for authority, had been extremely contradictory : a variety of opinions was likewise supported by these warriors, who had fallen back from the capital for the convenience of subsisting their numerous flocks. It was evident that affairs were drawing to a crisis, from the general import of the intelligence communicated by each different party on its return ; but nothing very

certain was known. The tribes we were amongst had formed the reserve in the advance, and were naturally the front in the retreat: there was no appearance, however, of the dismay or confusion of a defeat. Their army, they thought, had fought Daood Effendi's troops, but subsequent to the date of their separation from the main body; they were inclined to believe, therefore, their cause had been prosperous, since they had not been called back to the support. We moulded our discourse accordingly; and Sayud Pasha was the general theme of praise.

The appearance of these troops was equally military and interesting; they were the flower of the tribes. Every thing amongst them bore the stamp of that gallant daring and enterprise which the traveller would naturally look for in the predatory system of warfare they pursue. Very few women, and scarcely any children, could be observed, their families, in general, having been left at Coot. The few old men who could be seen were venerable, bearded warriors, who managed their able steeds with all the address and skill of youth; improved by constant habitude: their locks were blanched, but their strength had not been impaired by the fatigues and hardships of their profession. There were several amongst those, foremost for their dignity, who must have numbered forty summers at the least from the day they first bore arms; they were, however, equally lively, vigorous, and cheerful, with the rest; whilst they were only to be distinguished by the whiteness of their beards, and by those honourable scars which added an imposing majesty to the dignified importance of their carriage.

Their horses were, by far, the finest we had yet noticed; in excellent condition, and full of spirit. Their herds of camels were so numerous, that our eyes could scarcely reach the spot unoccupied by these useful servitors of man. They were all exulting in the beauty and temper of their swords, and the lightness of their spears; vaunting in the description of their former feats, and anxious for a renewal of the strife. When, after the inspection of my sabre, they requested to look at my pistols, they were apparently lost in their admiration

of the workmanship ; though in fact they were exceedingly plain. The goodness of these troops, however, is less in the perfection of their arms than in the vigour, patience, and hardiness of their horses, and their own physical ability to endure fatigue and deprivations of every kind. No troops in the world can even subsist where these warriors of the desert will act with unimpaired vigour and efficiency : for as the desert is their only inheritance, so the Bedouins, only, are formed for the possession.

Having occasion in the afternoon of this day to request a little milk, the only food I could fancy in a temporary indisposition I laboured under, I had here another opportunity of witnessing the real, genuine, and kind hospitality of these wanderers, towards the stranger who reposes beneath the shelter of their tents. There was none, they said, in camp, but it should be brought ; and having asked my servant when it might be expected, I could observe a second and a third messenger were dispatched. The water was extremely scarce or indifferent ; but two hours having elapsed, I had called at last for the wooden bowl that was handing round, when breathless with haste, and immediately after each other, the three messengers returned, with several others that had gone off on the same errand of their own accord. It was in the desert of Arabia, amongst its *lawless tribes*, that this hospitality was shown : they had all gone miles in the search ; and yet was it not the hope of a reward that influenced their conduct : for the hospitality of the Bedouin is gratuitous, and no less generous than free.

Before we retired for the night, I could easily perceive the brooding of another storm between my rascally Turk and the messenger who had accompanied us from Wassit. Very early in the morning, as I had expected, I was informed by my servant, it would be impossible to proceed, my Turk having had a most violent quarrel with our guide, regarding the trivial sum he demanded in remuneration of his services. I knew, to a certainty, that besides the hundred krush my Turk was to receive for his own reward, there was a considerable sum remaining of the advance on account of our expenses on the

road. The *expenses*, indeed, had been paid from three different quarters; by the Motselim, by the resident, and by myself; so I had reason to be provoked, when I found we were likely to be detained by the fellow's rascality in refusing to hire guides. Calling him aside, therefore, I said to him, that I saw the occasion of all these delays, but that I would not even discuss the subject; that I knew I was quite as safe in the camp as himself, who was a *Turk*, and constantly abusing every one; that if every thing was not ready within half an hour, I would pay the guide myself double what he then demanded, and leave him to his fate; adding, you shall not even follow us, or receive your reward. The rogue, who only wanted to be ruled with a hand of iron to become a useful, obedient slave, already knew me sufficiently to believe my words. Within the time prescribed he informed me the agreement was concluded, and that he only wished me to halt half an hour, to enable the guide to change his horse. I had seen the advantage of decision in my intercourse with the knave; I therefore complied with a seeming difficulty, with his humble request that I would wait; and was detained near three hours before we resumed our course. Under other circumstances, the high tone I had assumed might not have answered quite so well; I am persuaded, however, that, *in the desert*, if the Arabs had not been with me, they would never have been against me; at any rate, in favour of a *Turk*: and, man to man, I must confess, I can see no reason for holding the prowess of these lordly Ottomans in such high esteem.

We had not proceeded many miles on the morning of the first of February before we encountered the foremost of Shaik Hamood's army; who rode in upon us at speed, in the mimic display of an attack, on perceiving us to be friends escorted by one of their own messengers. Some of the fellows indeed pushed so close by me with their spears, charging furiously with their lances couched, and tilting up the point at the very moment of contact, that having been separated from my party, and not having a word to say for myself in reply to their enquiries, I could scarcely admire this unnecessary display of their horsemanship and skill. Putting on, however, the best coun-

tenance I could on the occasion, and smiling and returning their salutations, as they checked their panting steeds in the midst of their full career, brandishing their swords and spears above my head, I contrived with some difficulty to rejoin my servant, and desired him to keep as close to me as he could. By gradually inclining to the right, we ultimately got disengaged; but we could perceive them, for a good hour, filing off at a distance on our flank.

The order of their march (if the expression may be used) was irregularity itself. Unconfined by roads, water, or cultivation, in their selection of a track; unincumbered by lengthened files of waggons or artillery, in their wanderings; and with scarcely any baggage beyond the little that was carried on the camels and horses they were mounted on; the whole army was spread over the level flat, in the shape nearly of a bird flying: the head and tail forming the advance and rear; whilst the wings were composed of those more impatient or more curious scouts, who separated in their rambles from the more beaten course. Within this space, the thickest throng could be distinguished in the centre; but, evidently, less from the presence of any chief of rank than from the general motion of the body towards a certain point. It might indeed have appeared that each tribe was generally collected around the standard of its shaik, as the whole was grouped in irregular shapeless masses; it could be seen, however, from the higher ground we stood upon, that the whole frequently intermixed, collected in a body and separated again, as accident might direct. The chiefs were generally in front of their own immediate dependents, being commonly better mounted than the rest; but it was more owing, as I thought, to the goodness of the horse than to the pointed observance of any particular respect, a few instances only excepted, where a venerable age, and long approved valour and conduct, had probably increased the influence of those snow-bearded chiefs, who were only approached with superior reverence, and were generally accompanied by little flags, to mark the presence of some personage of greater consequence.

The looseness of their ranks would naturally preclude any very ac-

curate estimate of their numbers ; but I should be inclined to think, at a rough guess, they were not less than seven or eight thousand strong. The tribe of the Montific Bedooins alone (I have been informed) can bring 12,000 horse into the field ; and if numbers on the present occasion were left behind, it is probable their army had been joined by some of their allies. It was from these troops we now heard the first accurate accounts of the battle and victory, under the walls of Bagdad, which had occasioned the return of the tribes. I shall have occasion to notice the occurrence, in my narrative of the siege that was renewed on the return of the enemy ; I may content myself, therefore, with observing, they were returning in the highest spirits and greatest confidence, from this first success of the cause they had supported with their arms.

Our march, this day, was extremely fatiguing, and through a perfect desert. After we had rode for seven hours, from 10 in the morning until 5 P. M., I perceived our guide in close consultation with my Turk ; and immediately afterwards, they turned from the direction I knew would lead us to Bagdad, and proceeded south. When I could reach them, to enquire the cause of this alteration of our course, I was informed it was proper we should pay a visit to the head-quarters of Shaik Hamood's army, our guide having dispatches of some consequence to deliver : the Shaik it seems, had passed us at a distance on our left, and it was necessary to return. I have never, I must confess, been remarkable for patience or forbearance. Our agreement with the guide was, that he should conduct us *direct* to the capital for the thirty piastres he had received ; when I found, therefore, that we must retrace full thirty miles of our ground, and be detained at least a second day, it may be surmised I was not highly pleased. I immediately suspected some collusive rascality between my Turk and guide, my servant himself being at a loss how to explain the mystery : I determined, therefore, on the most absolute refusal. When I found that entreaties and threats were of no avail, I asked my servant if he would follow me : he scarcely knew what to answer. We could not proceed without the

guide, he said : " we should be attacked most certainly. I plainly saw he was too much frightened to give advice ; I therefore desired him to return me the pistols I had lent him ; and being thus far better armed than the whole three together, I told them plainly I would not return a step. I knew tolerably well the distance before us, and the general direction of the road. I had four excellent pistols in my belt, and was by far the best mounted of the three, having retained my chosen steed. I knew in fact that these lordly believers may be controlled ; I therefore told them I would proceed by myself, and set off accordingly. I soon found my rascally Turk at my heels, with my servant and guide at a distance in the rear, as if doubtful of the measures they should adopt. The fellow had even the insolence to seize my reins ; but when he found my pistol at his breast, he left me with curses and imprecations ; declaring I should soon meet with the just reward of my temerity. I rode on, however, unmindful of his threats ; but pondering, I must confess, in extreme anxiety, on the issue of my plans for getting on ; when I was overtaken by my servant, who informed me the Turk was the only one to blame, and that no further impediments would be interposed. After half an hour, I had occasion to congratulate myself on the success of the stratagem, my guide and Turk overtaking us with many and very humble apologies for the delay we had experienced, " from their want of knowledge of my anxiety to proceed." The excuse was most paltry ; it was not a moment, however, for holding out on trivial grounds. I knew enough of these assuming believers to be aware, that my success was owing to the feigned resolution I had evinced of proceeding on by myself : but I took occurrences as they presented themselves, and felt happy in the return of my party, after wandering alone for some miles in the desert until quite weary of my scheme. I had been alone about an hour, I believe, and knew my Turk would yield and follow me for the sake of his reward ; but he was so long in his decision, that to speak the truth, it was the most tedious hour I have ever spent.

At about eleven at night, and after riding full thirteen hours, we reached an Arab camp, and were received with the usual hospitality. There was little on the present occasion deserving of particular notice, the manners of the Bedooins having already been described. This tribe was certainly by no means poor, if we might judge from every thing around us; so little is the intercourse, however, which apparently subsists, that the chief himself was glad to obtain a little tobacco from our store. "He had not enjoyed his chubook," he said, "for near a week, and though it was scarcely right," he observed with polite delicacy, "to request a favour from the stranger that had sought the hospitality of his tents, he should really feel obliged."

At seven on the morning of the 2d, after a few hours rest, we resumed our course; marching through the desert as on the former day, without any other land marks to steer by, than a general knowledge of the direction of the road. Shaik Shoke, our host of the preceding evening, had told us, he believed we should not meet a soul in our progress north; the march of the army we had passed, having cleared the road of every inferior tribe. We often rode over the traces of numerous bodies of cavalry, but found the surmise entirely correct, as after marching for ten hours without observing even a distant scout, we halted at 5 P. M. in the open plain to boil coffee, and to rest our jaded hacks. At seven, we again resumed our march, but at half-past nine, the cold became so intense, that our guide declared it was impossible to proceed any further. To halt to avoid cold, appeared to me the extreme of folly; but our Bedooin friend soon convinced me to the contrary. This unusual cold, was owing to the blowing of the Shumals, which at different seasons of the year are extremely hot or cold. Crouching under those banks of sand which the wind had accumulated, I soon found my situation comfortable enough: so composed myself to sleep, with my horse's reins dangling in my hand.

At one on the morning of the 3d, when I awoke, I could not rise without considerable efforts, from the loads of sand that had accumulated above me, and which kept the wide circumference of my cloak



absolutely fastened down. Having disengaged myself, however, with many kicks and jerks, that almost smothered me with the dust they raised, I called to my companions, and prevailed on them to rise and mount. I believe it would have been as well, in this particular instance, if I had been less watchful and peremptory; as after riding on most uncomfortably for about two hours, we were again obliged to lie down; our guide informing us we were nearly opposite Helah, and might miss the road if I persisted in advancing in the dark.

Just before the dawn, our old Arab informed us on mounting, that we should soon draw nigh to the ruins of Babyl; a spot Europeans had often visited. The shrewd old man, I had perceived, had all along suspected me, but the moment had not yet arrived for the free and candid acknowledgment of the fictitious character I had assumed. The day was now breaking in upon us, and was only partially concealed by the red heavy mist which the Shumals had raised. The plain we were riding over, had certainly been the site of extensive buildings, though evidently at some very distant period; for the conclusion suggested by the information communicated to us, was only yet countenanced by some trivial inequalities in the ground; and the appearance, in a very few insulated spots, of tiles and bricks on the summit of those elevations, which the rains of many ages had partly cleared, and uncovered to the view. As we rode on, however, the rising conviction was confirmed, and we passed by three successive heaps of considerable extent, intersected by traces of inferior magnitude, at nearly right angles with these princely beacons of ancient celebrity, before we halted at some distance on the right of these, to provide the usual refreshment of coffee for the morning.

The furthest spot to the north, which we had not passed so close, was seemingly the highest of the whole; whilst the general appearance of each particular mound, can only be compared to an immense grave, or to those oblong barrows, which are common in England, and have often been pointed out to me since my return. The period of our visit was indeed extremely unfavourable; at the break of day, in the midst of those clouds of dust which the Shumals had raised; with such

ignorant, unaccommodating companions, and at so critical a juncture. I must, therefore, in candour confess, the want of those more accurate, minute, and particular observations, of these celebrated ruins, which the traveller is not always willing to allow. I was, in fact, constantly called back, and rated by my servant or my Turk, whenever I attempted to stir to any distance from our chosen road; the first, especially, having been so frightened on several occasions, that he saw an Arab and a robber in every bush. From what I could observe, however, there is little left that can deserve the attention of the traveller, who has not the advantage of leisure, assistance, and tranquillity, to favour his enquiries. It is chiefly in the retrospect, therefore, which can guide our researches, that an adequate share of interest can be found. After my arrival at Bagdad, I became possessed of the most accurate information I could have wished; may I therefore bespeak the indulgence of the reader, who only seeks for useful and correct illustrations, without aiming at censure and criticism, if in the retrospect that can alone elucidate the subject, I chiefly avail myself of those borrowed lights, which I shall willingly acknowledge in their proper place.

## CHAPTER V.

BABYLON, OBSERVATIONS ON ITS FORMER STATE AND PRESENT NOTHINGNESS. — OCCURRENCES ON THE ROAD TO BAGDAD. — SELEUCIA. — CTESIPHON. — CANALS. — RUINS. ARRIVAL AT BAGDAD.

**I**N tracing the site of those long lost cities, of which the name only now remains to the superficial observer; the man who applies the powers of reasoning to the aid of extensive learning, will naturally associate the recollection of their former state, with those faint, yet speaking traces of a past existence which they still exhibit. Such has been the course of illustration pursued by Major Rennel, the celebrated geographer, in pronouncing on the identity of those remains, which we can but so imperfectly describe. He has established the fact: First, on a comparison of Oriental writers in general: Secondly, on observations found in such ancient authors as Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Q. Curtius, and others, which accord with the Oriental traditions: Thirdly, on a comparison of the description given of the remains by modern travellers, with these earlier accounts. Little room is left for the unlearned to enlarge upon these proofs. Recent travellers can merely supply their additional testimony, as to the existence of ruins corresponding with the known extent of Babylon. As to myself, whilst I may express the fullness of my own conviction upon this interesting subject, I must confine myself to the thankful acknowledgment of the source from whence my own information is derived. The site of this renowned city, it is well known, has frequently been confounded with those of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and even of Bagdad. I have, however, in common with Mr. Rich, and other modern travellers, enjoyed opportunities of observing the existence of those distinct traces of former grandeur, which sufficiently distinguish the respective situations of three great cities, now swept away by the desolating power of time. Babylon, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, have

all gone by; Bagdad alone remains. Of the first, once the capital of Chaldea, begun by Nimrod or Belus, continued by Ninus, and improved by Semiramis, what now is left? What, besides a name, the descriptions of those learned ancients, whose works have outlived the wonders they were intended to celebrate; and here and there, rising from the black and dreary desert, an elevation above the surrounding flat; a mound of earth, that seems as it were, the grave of all that pomp and grandeur which it once displayed? — the grave indeed, and sacred repository of all its boasted fame; since there, and there only, the melancholy remains of this queen of nations can now be traced by a laborious research.

In many parts of the world, very extensive ruins, indicative of the wealth, activity, and population of former ages, have been discovered; but it is necessary that their position, extent, and the quality of their materials, should correspond and accord with those notices which history may afford, in order to pronounce on their identity. Let us, with the description of this famous city, retrace the history of its origin, celebrity, and progressive decay. Begun in the presumption of man \*, it was destined in its fall to display a monument of the divine vengeance, and of the unerring spirit of inspired prophecy. Even in its rise to wealth, splendour, and prosperity, the divine Isaiah was inspired to denounce its fall and utter destruction. † From the first year of Hezekiah to the first of Nebuchadnezzar, chronologers compute a space of about one hundred and twenty years. In this period of its chief strength and highest prosperity, it is celebrated for its hundred brazen gates, all hung on hinges of the same metal: three hundred and sixty-eight stadia or forty-six miles in circumference, its walls ‡ were built of brick cemented with bitumen, thirty-

\* Gen. chap. xi. ver. 4. "And they said, Go to, let us build us a City, and a Tower whose top *may reach* unto heaven; and let us make us a name."

† Isaiah, chap. xiii. xiv. xxi. xliii. xlv. xlv. xlvii. Also Jeremiah, chap. xxv. l. li.

‡ As various opinions are advanced by very respectable authorities, relative to the extent, height, and general dimensions of the walls of Babylon, it may perhaps be

two feet in thickness, and seventy-five in height ; they were defended by towers that rose twelve feet above the whole. Adorned with the temple of Belus \*, in the middle of which stood a tower eight stories or six hundred and ninety feet high, and erected on a base of a quarter of a mile square ; it could also boast those pensile gardens, which were once esteemed the wonder of the world. These are described, as built on immense terraces disposed in the form of an amphitheatre supported on arches, and covered with square stone flags, with earth of a sufficient depth to sustain the largest trees ; which, in all the majesty of a natural forest, arose as the offspring of those loves they were intended to commemorate : the luxuriance of their growth, (if we may believe the Greeks,) extending to the whole city that friendly protecting shade which female charms had sought, and a royal passion had not denied.

A castle, twenty stadia or two miles and a half in circumference, and defended by towers one hundred and ten feet in height from the foundation, stood pre-eminent amidst the numberless palaces with which it was adorned. A stone bridge (six hundred and twenty-four feet long and thirty broad) crossed the Euphrates, whilst handsome quays on both its banks, and immense caverns to receive the overflowings of its streams, proved equally convenient to all commercial and agricultural purposes. Its commerce indeed was facilitated by the communication of the Euphrates with the Persian gulf ; it being in those days navigable for vessels of a considerable burthen : whilst,

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necessary to state, that as these anomalies in the description are generally supposed to arise from its having been *different* inclosures which various authors have described, I have assigned the present dimensions, as belonging only to that particular inclosure which is usually described as three hundred and sixty-eight stadia in its extent.

\* The Temple of Belus is by most considered as the same structure with the tower of Babel : the identity of these buildings (we are informed) does not appear to rest on stronger grounds than general similarity, vicinity, and coincidence in regard to names. — Should a contrary opinion be adopted, it will certainly elucidate a subject that is at present involved (as we shall find) in some uncertainty.

being also joined to the Tigris by a royal canal \*, it was supplied with the produce of the whole country to the north, as far as the Euxine and Caspian seas.

Such is the usual description of this great city, the glory of kingdoms, according to ancient authors and their modern commentators: Such was Babylon in its days of glory and prosperity. Alas! what now is left to mark its site? The memory of its fame, and the wonderful accomplishment of those prophecies, which, having foretold its *entire* subversion, should rather lead us to esteem the want of *outwardly visible* ruin, a proof of the identity of the spot, and of the general correctness of the opinion which we adopt.

On that ground, once the busy scene of commercial activity; of ambition, pleasure, lust, and every passion which exalts or degrades the mind, the Bedoon scarcely pricks his wandering track. What is now become of those mighty crowds that once filled its numberless avenues, and pursued the fleeting enjoyments of this world with so insatiable an avidity, that Quintius Curtius describes them as the most profligate and corrupt race that could be named. † Fathers and mothers offering their daughters to prostitution; and husbands inciting their wives to the violation of their marriage vows for the most trifling rewards. Females of the highest rank and most respectable condition, partaking in every kind of debauchery; and frantic

\* This canal was the work of Semiramis, who also improved the navigation of the Euphrates, and is said to have had a fleet of three thousand galleys. It was repaired and improved by Nebuchadnezzar, and is usually spoken of as the "Naher Malcha, or Fluvius Regius." — Though now dry, it was used for agricultural purposes, so low down as the time of the Caliphs of Bagdad. Herod. i. 194. and i. 184. Strabo. Lib. 14. Huet. Hist. Du Commerce, chap. xi. may be consulted by the learned.

† Lib. v. p. 74. "Nihil urbis," says Q. Curtius, "ejus corruptius moribus, nec ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. — Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. — Convivales Ludi tota perfide regibus purpuratisquæ cordi sunt. — Babylonii maxime in vinum et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, effusi sunt. Fæminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus: dein summa quæque amicula exuunt, Paulatimque pudorem profanant. — Ad ultimum (honus auribus sit) ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum, virorumque, apud quos comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas.

with passion, wine and revelry, exposing themselves naked to the public gaze. These, with all its vanities and its pomp, have all gone by; whilst scarcely aught is left to commemorate their past existence. But it had been written, "And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah." "It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their folds there."\* Believing, as we do, in the Divine inspiration of the prophecies, let us the less wonder at the disappearance of every outward trace of this great and mighty city; and submit to the evidence, which the fulfilment of the word affords: as it had been written, so it has happened; and it is only by opening those mounds of earth already adverted to, that the slightest vestige of its mighty walls, profane temples, or gorgeous palaces, can now be traced.

From the remotest times †, buildings in the East, are frequently described as consisting of unburnt bricks, or pieces of earth or clay, beaten up with straw or rushes, to make the parts adhere; being dried only by an exposure to the sun. The walls of Babylon, with some of its public edifices, were built partly of these unburnt bricks, and partly of brick and bitumen. The effect of time, and vertical heavy rains, on materials of this kind, may easily be surmised. Before entering, however, on that description of the ruins, which we may derive from Mr. Rich's very accurate memoir ‡; (a work far more valuable than my own observ-

\* Isaiah xiii. v. 19. 22.

† So far back as the days of the Egyptian bondage, we find that Pharaoh commanded his officers, saying "Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick as heretofore. Let them go and gather straw for themselves." Exod. v. 7.

‡ The work originally appeared in a journal which is published at Vienna, and is intitled *Mines de l'Orient*. I had an opportunity of consulting the original, whilst enjoying the advantage of the author's society, at his hospitable mansion at Bagdad. I now speak on the authority of the review, but certainly I may assert, that from Mr. Rich's situation, the respect in which he is held by the Pacha's government, his pursuits and acquirements, there are few, if any, who could pursue the enquiry with equal advantages.

ations.) To avoid repetition, it may be necessary to state, that such ruins, or rather traces of ancient Babylon, as can now be found, consist " of mounds of earth, formed by the decomposition of buildings, " channelled and furrowed by the weather, with the surface of them " strewed with pieces of brick, bitumen, and pottery." These, of all that we have described, are the only remains which are now outwardly visible. The abundance of the materials sufficiently point out the former existence of an immense city. I can bear evidence to the general certainty of the fact; and may assert, that as *no other remains whatever besides these mounds* can now be traced; so the abundance of these remnants (strewed on the surface) equally establish the extent of the buildings they now replace. In describing *particulars*, however, having enjoyed an opportunity of forming so much higher an opinion of the minute correctness of the memoir already adverted to, I shall not hesitate to prefer it to my own more cursory observations, even in those points wherein it may happen to militate against those notions which I had formed. The acknowledgment is due to the very superior merit and accuracy of the investigation this gentleman pursued; but will not, I trust, entirely preclude the right of introducing those general observations, which a personal though less assured acquaintance with the subject may naturally induce.

On the eastern bank of the river, and about two miles beyond Hellah, the ruins are found to commence. These may be described, as occupying an oblong, unequal space, of about two miles and a half, by nearly three.\* The two first longitudinal and principal mounds, (connected with, and situated N. and S. of each other) form the right

\* Mr. Rich gives two miles and 600 yards for the width, with about 600 yards more for the length of the space over which the ruins in general are found to extend. As it may be conjectured that the river has encroached, this would complete the oblong nearly to a perfect square, and would occupy a space of ten miles 1280 yards, or very near eleven miles; which, at eight stadia to the mile, would correspond within a mere trifle of the ninety stadia usually esteemed the circumference of the inner space that was built up, as described by Q. Curtius, lib. v. p. 73. We do not recollect whether this coincidence is noticed in the work itself, or the review; but most certainly, as coming from such authority, it is deserving of attention.



hand or eastern boundary as you ascend ; whilst on the left, and next to the river, a higher embankment presents a line of demarkation equally clear and definite.

The first grand, or most southern mass of ruins, which presents itself to our attention, Mr. Rich distinguishes by its name of Amran, in compliance with an absurd Turkish tradition. He estimates its length at eleven hundred yards, its greatest breadth at eight hundred ; and its utmost elevation at about sixty feet above the level of the plain : whilst, in general, he describes it as affording but few of those furnace-baked bricks which were usually employed in buildings of consequence.

“ Proceeding in a northerly direction” he observes “ to this succeeds the second grand heap of ruins, the shape of which is nearly a square of seven hundred yards in length and breadth. Its S.W. angle is connected with the N.W. angle of the mounds of Amran by a ridge of considerable height, and nearly a hundred yards in breadth.

“ This is the place,” continues Mr. Rich, “ where Beauchamp made his observations, and it is certainly the most interesting part of the ruins of Babylon. Every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter : the bricks are of the finest description, and notwithstanding this is the grand store-house of them, and that the greatest supplies have been, and are now constantly drawn from it, they appear still to be abundant. The operation of extracting the bricks has caused great confusion, and contributed much to increase the difficulty of decyphering the original design of this mound, as in search of them the workmen pierce into it in every direction, hollowing out deep ravines and pits, and throwing up the rubbish in heaps on the surface. In some places, they have bored into the solid mass, forming winding caverns, and subterranean passages : which, from their being left without adequate support, frequently bury the workmen in the rubbish. In all these excavations, walls of burnt brick laid in lime-

“ mortar of a very good quality are seen ; and in addition to the substances generally strewed on the surfaces of all these mounds, we here find fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and great quantities of varnished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which are surprisingly fresh.”

In a hollow, near the southern part, Mr. Rich found a sepulchral urn of earthenware, which had been broken in digging, and near it lay some human bones, which pulverized with the touch. He also discovered a large idol in this mass, which represented the figure of a lion, of a colossal size, of coarse granite, and rude workmanship, with a circular aperture in the mouth, into which a man might introduce his fist.

A few paces to the left of a ravine the people have made in digging for bricks, and on one side of which Mr. Rich discovered some yards of wall, may be observed the next remarkable object, called Kasr, or the palace, by the people of the country. The ravine itself is about two hundred yards to the north of the ruin last described ; the face of the wall is nearly perfect, and the bricks in general have writing on them : whilst the spot itself is rendered still more deserving of attention by the remains of a subterraneous passage ; the roof of which is constructed of bricks laid in bitumen, though in other neighbouring places they were generally fixed in mortar cement. The palace discovers several remains of walls and piers, that are unobstructed with rubbish, and built of fine burnt bricks, “ still perfectly clean and sharp, and laid in lime-cement of such tenacity, that those whose business it was, had given up working for bricks on account of the extreme difficulty of extracting them whole.”

The Mujelibe or overturned, the building (as we are informed) which De la Valle considered as the remains of the celebrated tower of Belus \*, is the most northern and last of those *principal* mounds,

\* As Major Rennel, it would appear, adopted in his reasonings the opinion of De la Valle, so Monsieur Beauchamp distinguishes this place by the name of Makloube, to which he likewise gives the meaning of overturned. There is a difference of opinion, however, between Mr. Rich and these writers, that might make it appear (according to

which the traveller will pass. It is described by Mr. Rich as being  
“ of an oblong shape, irregular in its height and the measurement of  
“ its sides, which face the cardinal points ; the northern side being  
“ two hundred yards in length, the southern two hundred and nine-  
“ teen, the eastern one hundred and eighty-two, and the western one  
“ hundred and thirty-six ; the elevation of the S.E. or highest angle  
“ being one hundred and forty-one feet. The western face, which is  
“ the least elevated, is the most interesting on account of the appear-  
“ ance of building it presents. Near the summit of it appears a low  
“ wall, with interruptions, built of unburnt bricks mixed up with  
“ chopped straw or reeds, and cemented with clay-mortar of great  
“ thickness, having between every layer a layer of reeds ; and on the  
“ north side are also some vestiges of a similar construction. The  
“ S.W. angle is crowned by something like a turret or lantern : the  
“ other angles are in a less perfect state, but may originally have been  
“ ornamented in a similar manner. The western face is lowest and  
“ easiest of ascent, the northern the most difficult. All are worn into  
“ furrows by the weather ; and in some places, where several channels  
“ of rain have united together, these furrows are of great depth, and  
“ penetrate a considerable way into the mound. The summit is co-  
“ vered with heaps of rubbish, in digging into some of which, layers  
“ of broken burnt brick cemented with mortar are discovered, and  
“ whole bricks, with inscriptions on them, are here and there found :  
“ the whole is covered with innumerable fragments of pottery, brick,  
“ bitumen, pebbles, vitrified brick or scoria, and even shells, bits of  
“ glass, and mother of pearl.”

Of the very superior accuracy of Mr. Rich's description of each particular mound, few doubts I believe can be reasonably entertained. Even had he been gifted with acquirements inferior to those which he may boast, his situation in every respect was peculiarly favourable to the pursuit of an investigation that stands not in need of

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the authority now before us) that Mr. Rich's Kasr would best correspond (as to distance) with the Makloube which Beauchamp names.

such additional proof as a traveller can afford, who merely generalized in his enquiries, without having had it in his power to enter on particulars. It took me about an hour to ride over the extent of ground which the ruins in general are found to occupy; and as I made frequent halts, to consider the relative situation of those inequalities which immediately conveyed a surmise, and produced a conviction of the spot I stood upon, their general extent, I think, may be esteemed correct as described by Rich. It appears to me, however, deserving of attention, (unless the want of the original should now mislead me,) that no particular remarks are made on the perfect agreement which exists between the extent of the ruins described by Rich and the inward extent of that part of Babylon which was built up, and ninety stadia only in circumference.

Babylon is described as a square city, with several enclosures about it. And as it is known that the houses were not built close up to the walls, but, on the contrary, with an open space between the houses and the walls, which was generally employed for agricultural purposes; and as this part, which was alone entirely occupied with buildings, (the rest, according to Q. Curtius \*, being chiefly an open space,) is therein described as ninety stadia only in circumference; so Mr. Rich's estimate for the faces of the square would very nearly occupy this space.

On the question at issue between Major Rennel and Mr. Rich, (regarding the identity of the tower of Belus with the Mujelibe or the Birs Nemrood), we cannot certainly esteem ourselves qualified to judge. It belongs more properly to the professed geographer, or to the learning of our colleges, than to the camp, to solve the doubt. If we consider, however, the advance in arts, civilization, and science, which must be obtained before men accumulate in extensive cities; if we go over any of those chronological and arithmetical calcu-

\* L. v. p. 73. *Ædificia non sunt admota muris, sed fere spatium unius jugeri absunt. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per xc. stadia habitatur: nec omnia contigua sunt, credo, quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. Cætera serunt, coluntque: ut, si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrent.*

lations which are so often more illustrative of facts than the opinion of the first authorities; we shall, I think, be inclined to hold with those accounts, which set a more moderate boundary to the \* extent of Babylon than others have allowed. In looking back to ancient times, we are sufficiently inclined to magnify objects until they rise in the scale, and are transmitted as wonders to posterity. In the East especially, where immensity has ever been the character of all their works, it would appear that the neglect of all that beauty and elegance which depends on proportion has only afforded the opportunity, and increased the desire, of arousing our wonder by the mag-

\* In our retrospective view of the wonders of this great city, and the magnitude of its works, we have quoted authority exactly as it stands; taking those assertions for truths which claim the support of such names as those of Herodotus, Strabo, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, and others. It might, after this, perhaps, appear the height of presumption to attack the very ground we have stood upon, and to declare, that as part of these assertions are certainly very wonderful and extraordinary, in regard to the *magnitude* of the works described, there are others, as to the *circumstances of the performance*, which are not only wonderful, but absolutely impossible, though vouched for by the greater part of those authorities.

The walls of Babylon, for example, are stated, at the very lowest computation, to have been seventy-five feet in height, and thirty-two feet thick; and consequently must have contained 14,400 cubic feet of earth to each current fathom; of which immense work, no less than *one stadium*, according to the same account, was performed *per day*. Such is the statement, and yet is it a certain fact, concerning which any one may satisfy himself, by a reference to our most celebrated works, (and to v. i. p. 64. Le Blond, or p. 52. Adyes Bombardier,) that twenty workmen, the greatest number that can conveniently be applied to each current fathom, *even in field works*, could never have *even thrown up*, a third of the 14,400 cubic feet of earth within the day. Field works, of all others, are certainly the quickest of construction; and twenty men are the greatest number that can conveniently be applied to every current fathom of the circumference; and as it is a fact, that the weakest profile will require twenty-four hours, a stronger, forty-eight, and the strongest seventy-two, so we may fairly conclude, *from the known certainty of the one fact*, that the other which is remote, and only vouched for, *not proved*, may, very probably, be incorrect.

In a disquisition of this nature, we are not exactly aware of the influence that will be allowed to such arguments, in disproof of the general validity of authority so generally acknowledged and so constantly appealed to: if, however, this statement can disprove a part, *i. e.* the time employed in the building of the walls, it is certain it must reduce the asserters of the *magnitude* of these works to the alternative of yielding "time," or "perfect correctness of authority," concessions that may well affect the general import of the whole statement.

nitude described. The absence of proportion, the impossibility of judging of the whole from a part only, have set criticism at defiance; *proportion enabling us to calculate when we describe.* Let us the less wonder, therefore, at, nor yield too ready an assent to, the extravagance of those descriptions that are left; but let us, on the contrary, avail ourselves of such facts as are established and undeniable, in the solution of our doubts.

Authorities differ as to the extent of Babylon, whilst in general it is allowed to have been surrounded with more than one enclosure: may we not fairly conclude, that this difference should be attributed to the different enclosures which are described? May we not readily believe, that they are the same city and the like edifices that have been noticed? whilst a close, direct, and particular, or a more diffuse and extended sense, has only been adopted, in the descriptions that are left. Inclined as we may thus feel, to assent only to the most moderate relation, we shall also find the belief uncontroverted by any fact that is positive and known. But it would appear that the moderate circumference of ninety stadia, which Q. Curtius has assigned as the inward extent of Babylon, is only opposed by contrary assertions (more credible, perhaps, on the score of authority, but less on the grounds of reason and probability); whilst it may also be allowed, that these contrary assertions from the best authorities we have, may readily be reconciled by facts which are known, very generally acknowledged, and very nearly indisputable.

A fact grounded on authority in itself allowed; that may be reconciled, and on sufficient grounds, with opposite assertions, is confirmed by modern travellers. Mr. Rich, with greater advantages than any other traveller, with every probability of accuracy in his relation, informs us, that the ruins occupy a certain space, which, on the comparison, corresponds exactly, or very nearly with the extent described. Let us rest our enquiries on these grounds; and if it be certain, or highly probable, that the ruins which remain occupy the space that was originally built upon, (the rest having been an open space, or at the most the suburbs of an eastern city,) it will perhaps reduce and

simplify the argument to this: That the one or the other opinion should be adopted, according as it may be certain or highly probable or otherwise, that the temple of Belus was originally placed in the centre of the town.

A question thus simplified, depending only on the extent of Babylon, might the more readily be set at rest; as it is a fact, whatever difference of opinion may otherwise prevail, that authorities generally concur, in placing the temple of Belus in the centre of the town: in the centre of one part, according to Herodotus; or according to Diodorus, in the centre of the whole. On the question which may now present itself, as to what the Birs Nemrood may be, if it is not the temple of Belus and Semiramis, we can only observe, that to a man of limited reading, and unaccustomed to investigations of the kind, it is far more easy to pronounce what it may not be, than what it is. It cannot be the temple of Belus, because the temple of Belus stood in the centre of a city, ninety stadia in circumference, with three hundred and sixty-eight, or four hundred and eighty at the most, for the extent of its outward wall. If, however, it could be proved, that the temple of Belus was the work of Semiramis, and as such, an entirely distinct and different building from the Tower of Babel, the possibility surmised might certainly hold good.

We have attempted the description of its former glories, as affording a moralizing contrast with its present nothingness; we may conclude with observing on the progress of its decay, as illustrative of facts, and corroborative of conclusions grounded on historical records, that Babylon had not ceased to exist as a city, until long after the period assigned for the building of those capitals which have often been erroneously thought to occupy its site.

The decline and fall of the Babylonian empire, indeed, was attended with this peculiar circumstance; that independently of those natural causes, which certainly portend and generally precede the dissolution of empires, its entire subversion and future nothingness was specially foretold and minutely described in Holy Writ.

The cause, as her pride, cruelty, and the sacrilegious impiety of her King; the time, manner, and instrument; being each particularly appointed, specified, and even named. In the height of her glory, under Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of Syria, Palestine, Jerusalem, and Egypt, the proud Lord of "this great Babylon," and the miserable object of the Divine wrath; the Lord's anointed, Cyrus, the Persian and the Mede, diverting the Euphrates from its appointed course, destroyed its defences, and subverted that second Assyrian empire, of which Babylon had been esteemed the capital and the pride. From that period, the Persian monarchs, delighting more in Ecbatana, Persepolis, and other places, entirely neglected it; whilst under the Macedonians, and the Parthian race of Kings who succeeded, the building of Seleucia\* and Ctesiphon† gradually but completely drained it of the few inhabitants which time and tyranny had left. The exact period of its entire abandonment can scarcely be ascertained: in the first century of the Christian æra, however, it is only spoken of as a city of the second magnitude; as the place from whence St. Peter dated one of his Epistles, and as the appointed residence of Hyrcanus, the Jewish High Priest.‡ Since then, it has been a park for "the wild beasts of the desert to lie there." It is now "a possession for the bittern," § the vestige of a ruin, a spot in the desert land.

After a digression, which the interest commonly attached to the subject, more than the value of our own personal observations, must excuse, we cannot do better than to return at once to that simple narrative of events, which is more immediately within the province of the unlearned traveller. Men and manners have always been the principal object of our attention and enquiries; the few remarks, therefore, we have adventured on the interesting subject of the pre-

\* Partem urbis Persiæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit, et Macedonum negligentia; maxime postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, stadia tantum trecentis a Babylone dissitam. — Strab. l. xvi. p. 38.

† Pro illa Seleuciam et Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum inclitas fecerunt. — Hilron.

‡ Josephus, Antiquit. xv. c. 2. § Isaiah, chap. xiii. and xiv.



ceding pages, were more the effect of a species of necessity, than of our choice.

After sipping our coffee on the morning of the 3d, under the shelter of one of those inferior elevations, that may be distinguished at a short distance beyond the principal heaps already described, at eight A. M. we resumed our course. The Shumal, or north-wester, had blown so hard during the whole of the preceding night, that the clouds of dust it had raised had not yet subsided, though the weather was comparatively temperate. At eleven, the whole circumference of the horizon was still a dismal sombre mist, that would scarcely allow us to believe the sun was fast advancing to its meridian height. It was, indeed, entirely concealed by the dusty haziness of the atmosphere; whilst the light which we derived from its rays cannot better be described than by comparing it to that heavy, red, oppressive, partial day, which an entire eclipse of this great luminary would produce at noon in our hottest months. We could scarcely see thirty yards before us; and whilst we kept as close together as possible, our guide frequently declared he was quite uncertain of the direction of the road. The particles of light desert sand that floated around us were so subtile as to impede our breathing, no less than our sight; but our old conductor declared the occurrence was fortunate, as we were now in the midst of hostile tribes which it might not otherwise have been possible to pass.

Our alarms, indeed, on this occasion, were a convincing proof of the accuracy of the assertion, as we could frequently hear the lowing of those numerous droves of camels which we passed in our course, without being able to distinguish the animals themselves, or the Arabs that guarded them. My servant two or three times assured me, that his hair, which had been black when we left Bussora, would be grey before we reached Bagdad; and, in truth, my Turk seemed for once equally aware of the dangers we encountered and passed at every step. Suddenly, however, and at the distance of about twenty-five miles from the ruins we had left, we found ourselves at once surrounded by numerous droves of loaded camels that occupied the road. It was too late to effect a retreat, though we all felt for a

while sufficiently disconcerted: we were happy, therefore, when we could ascertain, that our new acquaintances formed a part of a strong caravan proceeding with grain to the capital. On being carried before the principal merchants, my Turk was immediately recognised by several as a person whom they were acquainted with. I had scarcely, however, stretched myself under a bush in charge of our horses, when, after some violent discussions with our new acquaintances, I could plainly perceive Shaik Hamood's unfortunate messenger, with a large ataghan at his throat, and struggling for his life; whilst my Turk and servant were apparently interposing in his behalf, and arresting the hand that was uplifted to strike the blow. My situation was certainly exceedingly uncomfortable: my Turk and servant were evidently amongst friends, and in perfect safety: I had nothing, therefore, personally to apprehend; but to see our old and faithful guide, who had accompanied and secured us through so many difficulties, absolutely butchered before our faces, was an imperious call to exertion, which it would have been shameful to neglect. I saw it was useless to contend, though I advanced with a pistol in each hand. When I was rudely pushed back, therefore, but heard my Turk rebuke them, saying I was an English Balios, I acquired confidence, and forced my way through the circle, where after a few words (swords being returned) the tumult was gradually appeased by the principal merchants of the caravan. I was afterwards given to understand, that they had been attacked and plundered; on one of the preceding days, by some of the inferior tribes of the Montifics, and were therefore bent on revenging themselves on the person of our unfortunate conductor, as belonging to the party of their late enemies. In these half-barbarous climes, this summary kind of justice is, I believe, by no means uncommon; and the disorders that prevailed at this moment in the Pashalick were esteemed a sufficient apology by the whole; though, for the present, they consented to forbear from their revenge.

The merchants had piled up their numerous bales and sacks in several distinct circles, the whole, however, forming one general en-

closure; and it was behind these, without tents or other shelter, that we composed ourselves for the night preceding that whereon we might expect to reach the capital. At five on the morning of the 4th we began our march, accompanied by some of the principal merchants of the caravan: it was their intention, it seemed, to make a push, leaving the bulk of their companions to reach Bagdad on the ensuing day. The persons we had with us were Bagdadees of Turkish and Arab origin; and appeared to unite in their characters as merchants, a considerable degree of the spirit and address which a soldier is supposed to evince in the habits of his life and the management of his horse. They were all stout able men, extremely well mounted, respectably dressed, and perfectly well armed: they appeared, indeed, so exhilarated by the prospect of a quick return to their homes and families, that, in their present happiness, every sentiment of enmity and strife was laid at rest; whilst they conversed with our late ill-fated conductor with perfect ease and cheerfulness.

Before we had proceeded many miles, the unfortunate old man declared himself to have been robbed of the thirty piastres he had received for his services. I was at first inclined to believe that this was a contrivance of his own to obtain a further remuneration at my hands, now that my real character was known. But the violent protestations of my Turk soon convinced me to the contrary. The *stulta nudabit anima conscientiam* was never more truly exemplified; and as soon as he began to vindicate his own innocence without being accused, I marked him for the thief. Our guide insisted on returning to look for the treasure he had lost; but we had not been detained above half an hour, when he came back declaring it was useless to persevere in the search through so wide a tract; especially as he felt convinced that his money had been purloined from him during his sleep by some of the company. The merchants of course were highly indignant at the accusation, and my Turk, for good reasons, was the most vociferous of the whole. The hearing of his name, however, from several of the party, as the person who had slept next to the messenger, plainly convinced me that the suspicions I entertained were

not confined to myself. I scrupled not to declare, therefore, that I thought Aly Aga was the thief; and mentioning the sum he had previously stated to my servant that he possessed, proposed that his innocence should rest on the evidence of an immediate search. My servant declared he perfectly recollected his having said that he had only a few piastres left, when he wished to induce me to make advances; so that if it were found that he had more, it would be evident that he had been guilty of a falsehood, or else was the thief. At Bagdad, the English character is greatly respected; and the bare circumstance of my being a British officer giving me a considerable degree of influence, the knave soon perceived that his rascality might be attended with very unpleasant consequences. Aly Aga, however, was never at a loss; in the midst of all his lying and habitual drunkenness, he was a shrewd cunning rogue, who immediately knew when it was proper to retract. Bursting out, therefore, into a loud affected laugh, he produced the purse, declaring he had found it on the ground, and only wished to frighten his worthy friend. I cannot say much for the excuse: he had stolen the purse most certainly; but our conductor was so pleased at the recovery of his lost treasure that, although he kept at a respectable distance from our witty light-fingered Turk, he entirely resumed his former ease and composure.

We had now rode about four hours, when, at intervals, we could distinguish the lengthened banks of considerable canals in the intersections of the road. We sometimes crossed these remains of former cultivation, and frequently proceeded under cover of the bank; with constant cautions however to keep in a body for fear of an attack; the danger only increasing as we drew near to the capital, so late the scene of strife. These works must originally have been of very great extent; and the remains occupied, I should think, about a third of the forty-five miles we had to ride.\* They were formerly the Narmalachy,

\* It will be seen I have made the distance between Babylon and Bagdad considerably more than is usually reckoned; but we went considerably out of the common road to avoid any unpleasant meetings; leaving the first caravansera at a distance on our left when we turned off for the lower road.

or *fluvius regius* of Nebuchadnezzar, as we have already noticed, and if our authority holds good. I cannot feel sufficient confidence in my own learning to vindicate the assertion by cogent proofs; these remains, however, overspread the ground, which these useful works have been supposed formerly to irrigate with their bounteous streams. So low indeed as the reign of the Caliphs, their existence may be traced; the subject therefore is not of such high antiquity, as to lie beyond the limits of rational investigation.

When we had got nearly clear of these proofs of former industry, and about the time we first obtained a distant view of the Takht Kersera, we stumbled suddenly on a large black marble block, full seven feet long, that was evidently the imperfect remain of a colossal statue which had lost its head; the hands were crossed over the chest in the respectful attitude often observed by Asiatics in the presence of their superiors; and the feet could just be seen from beneath the long Persian robe that is sometimes worn on occasions of ceremony. There were no vestiges immediately around that could mark the site of former buildings. When I mentioned the circumstance, however, on my arrival at Bagdad, I was informed that this venerable remain of very remote antiquity had been noticed by some former traveller from Babylon, but left behind in consequence of its weight. After as close an inspection of this curious but mutilated fragment, as a few moments would allow, our attention was attracted, as we proceeded, by the full and perfect, though distant view, of those interesting remains of Ctesiphon which the accompanying sketch is intended to represent. With all its imperfections, it was the only notice I could take of these celebrated ruins; as my companions would neither stop for me, nor allow me to remain behind to complete the sketch. The exact dimensions of the Takht Kersera, with the following more particular description of the ground which these ruins stand upon, was furnished me on my arrival at Bagdad; and whenever my own observations have been insufficient for purposes of minute accuracy, and I can only confirm a general truth in the description, I shall never scruple to avail myself of valuable information of this kind.

The Takht Kersera, sometimes called Chuseroe's arch, the principal remain of a palace belonging to the famed Chuseroe, stands about eighteen miles to the S. E. of Bagdad, and a mile nearly from the banks of the river, marking the site of ancient Ctesiphon. \* This valuable ruin is nearly perfect as such, in as much as it carries in its appearance the most convincing proofs of having belonged to a palace of great extent, and still displays itself in all the majesty of falling grandeur, from a very considerable distance on every side. It is built of bricks full one foot square, and three inches thick. The east face or front is nearly one hundred and twenty-five paces in length, the breadth of the arch is eighty-six feet, the height one hundred and ten feet. The length of the arched roof within, from east to west, is sixty paces. There are several openings in the arch that pass for lamps, and were probably intended for the admission of light and air. The most perfect front, the east, is full of niches something like our ancient Gothic churches; but the opposite face is nearly destroyed, part of the arch itself having fallen in.

At the distance of about a third of a mile, on the Bagdad side of Chuseroe's palace, stands Solyman Pauk's or Soliman the † Clean's

\* Gibbon, vol. v. p. 287., speaks of the fall of Ctesiphon, and the destruction of Chuseroe's hall; and I cannot conceive how this ever should (from its name and the meaning of the word) have been mistaken for any other building, as I believe it has. "Tukht," signifies "throne," and means that elevated part of the audience-chamber, or of the tent, which the prince generally occupies on occasions of ceremony. In this case, it would mean the throne of Kersera, or Chuseroe; and it is remarkable that from the river, the side we approached it on, the rising elevation of the ground towards the palace as a centre, and as the crowning perfection of the whole, would render the expression entirely appropriate as a distinguishing appellation. The resemblance is so striking, that on a reference to my notes I find "a throne" was the very expression used, in the hasty memorandum and excited feeling of the moment, to denote the simple elevated majesty of its site.

† "Pauk" signifies in the original, pure, clean, immaculate; of which the opposite is formed by the prefix "na." According to the current opinion regarding this saint, however, the word in the present instance might be allowed a far more extended sense; the Prophet himself, as the story goes, having interposed to save his reputation for immaculate purity, in a manner that could not leave a doubt behind, and that had in fact enabled him to challenge the most curious inspection of his enemies. It was in the sleeve of this holy man, many credulous Mahometans believe, that the cat was first produced for the advantage of mankind; and he set the believing world an example of tenderness for this favourite, by cutting off his sleeve as a carpet for the animal to repose upon.

tomb, surrounded by the remains of a wall ; whilst to the southward, and nearly between the river and the arch, is a large mosque that formerly bore the name of Haudefeed ul Jemani ul Abdoola eben Salam. Thus far the ruins we have imperfectly described belong evidently to the celebrated Ctesiphon, both from their position, relative to the river, and their distance from Bagdad ; on the opposite bank of the Tigris, however, traces of former buildings may also be found near the old Bagdad powder-mills ; which, it is supposed, may once have belonged to the more ancient Seleucia. Seleucia, the work of Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's great captains, and the first of that foreign race who swayed the Persian sceptre for eighty-three years, succeeded to Babylon in its wealth and celebrity. The first in point of date, it should also from its situation have preceded in the description, that cursory notice of the remains of Ctesiphon which we have attempted. The early majestic view of the Takht Kersera, however, having first called our wondering attention to the magnitude and perfection of the ruin, we have naturally (as we felt from its superior and more evident attractions) given it the preference. Of Seleucia, as of Babylon, very little now remains : whether this be owing to the quality of the materials employed in the principal buildings, or to some remoter cause, we shall not attempt to decide. A profusion of decayed materials, with here and there a fragment of marble or porphyry, may be occasionally observed on the western bank of the Tigris ; and, if a diligent search could be pursued, it is not even improbable that statues, something similar to the marble figure we passed this morning, and have already noticed, might yet be found ; ornaments of this kind, in the greater part of the more ancient eastern buildings that I have seen, being at least in pairs, and frequently in extended rows, whilst a perfect and heavy regularity is generally observed.

We had now, at intervals, obtained a very distant view of the lofty minarets of Bagdad, amidst the windings of those elevations which the ruined banks of former canals interposed ; when a merchant in the advance informed us, that he could perceive a consider-

able body of horsemen advancing, who were doubtless Bedouins and enemies, from their appearance, and the information we had previously obtained of the position they occupied. We had experienced so many alarms on occasions of real danger, and had been so constantly on the alert, that if we were somewhat hardened to the appearance of an enemy, we were also, (in the constant expectation of an encounter,) sufficiently prone to yield a ready assent to every information of the kind. When the intelligence reached us, therefore, we gradually collected in a body, and inspired by our numbers, the dangers we had escaped, and above all, by the vicinity of the city, prepared for the strife with many boasting vaunts. The two principal merchants, after desiring us to wait for a while until the loiterers had arrived, rode forward a little way, and sent forth scouts to observe and report intelligence; wheeling their horses round, however, whenever their *extreme* boldness had carried them too far, to see how they were supported in the rear; and shouting, couching their spears, and exercising their animals at speed in our front, as we advanced to the attack. We had had as yet but a very imperfect, distant view of our expected opponents, the ground between us being completely intersected with ruined embankments and the rubbish of a fallen caravansaray; our scouts, however, at this moment returned at speed, with evident terror in their looks, declaring that the enemy was close at hand, and full a hundred strong. It will soon be seen, that these valorous knights had not reconnoitred with any great accuracy; but our horses being at their speed and warm, several of us had been carried on considerably in advance, without perceiving the very ominous halts, stopping of restive horses, and desertions, that were taking place in our rear. Suddenly, however, at a break in the bank we were riding under, we came in full contact with our dreaded adversaries! When, to our utter confusion and dismay, though I believe to the great joy of many of our party, we discovered these to be a caravan of peaceful donkeys, which their miserable drivers had forsaken in a fright, on



observing our desperate advance. I shall never forget the extreme variety of expression that was visible in every countenance ; or the ludicrous wonder-struck appearance of the group. Don Quixote, when awake to the real quality of the mighty giants he had encountered, or when deprecating the malice of the enchanters, who had turned the armies he had routed into sheep, to rob him of the honours of the victory, was never, certainly, more surprised than ourselves. Our intelligent scouts rode off, to avoid the reproaches they deserved, asserting these were not the enemies they had seen, and that we might expect them yet. Those who had halted in the rear, passed on, or retired still further back, to avoid the scoffs and taunts of their companions ; whilst those only now looked around with a confidence united with the smile of wonder on their face, whom, their unruly steeds (more perhaps than their inclinations) had brought forward to the fray. The trembling drivers now perceiving we were more inclined to laugh than to quarrel with them for the fright their long-eared animals had occasioned us, returned ; and joining in the general mirth, confirmed, after a while, the information we had received near Babylon, regarding the retreat of the new Pacha and his Koords. The defeat, they said, had been most complete ; and Sayud Pacha was now more firmly established than ever in his authority ; Abdoola Aga, a man of high reputation for conduct and abilities, having been appointed Kyjar, or minister ; and plenty and confidence being now restored.

This was the same Abdoola, whom we have already mentioned as one of the illustrious refugees who had left Busheer a short time only before our visit to that place. Sudden transitions of this kind, from a state of exile to the highest dignity, from the most unbounded wealth to absolute penury, from the throne itself to the prison and to death, are by no means uncommon in these abodes of abject slavery and despotic sway. We shall have occasion to notice in the following chapters several occurrences of a similar nature during the short period of our residence at Bagdad : for the present, how-

ever, as we have only to add, that we reached the city at five P. M., we cannot better take our leave of the desert, and our hospitable friends the Bedooins, than by those general remarks we have already promised on the distinguishing features and grand outlines of the country they inhabit, their character, and manners ; — manners and observances that have been the leading characteristics of this celebrated race from the most ancient times.

## CHAPTER VI.

ARABIA, FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY; DANGERS AND ILLUSIONS OF THE DESERT. — THE BEDOOINS; THEIR CHARACTER, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, NOBILITY, TREATMENT OF WOMEN, &c. &c. — REMARKS ON THE CAMEL AND THE ARABIAN HORSE; ITS FITNESS FOR OUR CAVALRY INVESTIGATED.

ACCORDING to Sale, in his preliminary discourse to the translation of the Koran, "the Arabs, and the country they inhabit, which themselves call Jezîrat al Arab, or the Peninsula of the Arabians, but we Arabia, were so named from Araba, a small territory in the province of Tehâma, to which Yarab, the son of Kahtân, the father of the ancient Arabs, gave his name, and where, some ages after, dwelt Ismael the son of Abraham by Hagar. These are the people of whom the Christian writers for several centuries speak under the appellation of the Saracens; the most certain derivation of which word is from Shark, the East, where the descendants of Joctan, the Kahtân of the Arabs, are placed by Moses; and in which quarter they dwelt in respect to the Jews." The peninsula itself has been described as a triangle of irregular dimensions; extending in a line of 1500 miles from Beles on the Euphrates, to the straits of Bab el Mandel and the Indian seas; and measuring about 750 miles in its middle breadth: so that the entire surface exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France. The far greater part, however, is justly stigmatised with the epithet of the stony and the desert land. "Even the wilds of Tartary," an eloquent historian exclaims, "are decked by the hand of nature with lofty trees and luxuriant herbage; and the lonesome traveller derives a sort of comfort and society from the presence of vegetable life." But in the dreary wastes of Arabia, a trackless level is intersected by sharp bleak mountains; and, without shade or shelter, scorched by the direct and intense rays of a sun that is nearly vertical. Instead of cool, reviving breezes,

the winds, and particularly the Samiel, diffuse a noxious and even a deadly vapour.\* During the summer months especially, the life it reaches fades at once beneath the blast; and so instantaneous and powerful are its effects, that, as the vital spark is extinguished, corruption immediately follows, and the limbs separate at the joints, on the first attempt to remove or raise the corse.

The blowing of the winds in the same direction, for many weeks successively, presents another, and because it is inevitable, a greater danger, to the hapless wanderer in these desert climes. The hillocks of sand which they alternatively raise and scatter, have been compared to the billows of the sea, and whole caravans and whole armies have been lost and buried in the dust. As the dangers of the desert are great, so its illusions are wonderful, and almost inexplicable. Oppressed with heat, and fainting with fatigue, scorched by the vertical beams of the noon-tide sun, dying with thirst, and parched up by the fatal warmth of the Samiel, the traveller beholds at once an end of all his woes: an extended lake presents itself to view; gardens, an immense city rising amidst the desert, commanding lofty towers, arches and porticoes, at once are seen. The eye, bursting from its socket, to pierce through the mist that partially veils and imperfectly reveals the hope of comfort and deliverance, acquires new powers at the sight. Every moment is a moment of anxiety, yet

\* The Persians call these hot winds Bandy Samboor, or "suffocating;" the Arabs, Samiel, Sâm, Shumâl, or Sameli; that is, I believe, "poisonous." They chiefly prevail in the desert between Bassora, Bagdad, and Aleppo; are known in Persia, in India, and even in Spain, being in fact the land winds of all hot countries; though, from the nature of the soil they go over, more fatal in the desert than in any other parts. The Arabs, however, refine upon this description, and assert that the Samiel may be distinguished from all other hot winds by the sulphureous smell which always accompanies it; whilst it may also be known by the sombre red appearance of the atmosphere in the quarter it blows from. With regard to the first sign, we shall not speak; and the second is only owing to the light particles of the desert sand it brings along with it, as we experienced personally, and have had occasion to observe in the preceding chapter. In the cold season it is never dangerous, and, as an horizontal wind, has no influence close to the ground, being broken perhaps by the inequalities of the soil it goes over; so both men and animals find their preservation from its effects, in crouching down and throwing themselves flat upon the earth.

scarce a doubt intrudes; hope rests in the lap of assurance; we grasp at the shadow.\* Alas! we are deceived. Fatal delusion! it is the vision of the desert land that has been seen. It is the garden of Iren, and the work of Shedad the son of Ad, that has presented itself. It yet stands (according to Arabian traditions) in the desert of Aden; and is preserved by Providence, as a monument of the Divine wrath.†

The scarcity of fuel in Arabia is such, that camel's and horse's dung is commonly used as a substitute; whilst some art is even required to preserve the elemental flame. Destitute of navigable rivers, the possession of a well is frequently an object of desire, and the occasion of a war; and the torrents which pour from the mountains are immediately imbibed and disappear, from the looseness of the soil. The hardy Tamarind and the Acacia forcing their roots through a stony cleft, are only nourished by the nightly dews; and the way-worn, fainting pilgrim, is often forced to quench his thirst with water that has washed a bed of salt, or a layer of sulphur, in its wandering torpid source.

The endurance of evil certainly enhances the value of any local or partial enjoyment; and Arabia Felix ‡ owes the greater proportion

\* To my Indian readers, the illusion, I believe, will not be entirely unknown; as they must frequently have observed something similar in our extended plains, especially during the prevalence of the land winds. At Bangalore, when crossing the Parade, there are two trees that have commonly obtained the appellation of the frigates, from their resemblance at a distance to a ship in full sail; and there are many besides myself, who must have observed the visionary lake they are sometimes surrounded with, though certainly growing in a level plain. In the deserts of Arabia, the deception is something similar, though to a far greater extent, from those very causes which in the present instance can only partially operate.

† A more full and perfect account of this imaginary city, which is so seldom seen, may be found in Sale's preliminary discourse; the Koran also noticing the delusions of the garden of Iren.

‡ This distinction of the happy, the stony, and the desert land, was only known to the Greeks and Romans; but never to the Arabs; who divide proper Arabia into five provinces, *i.e.* Yeman, Hejaz, Tehâma, Najd, and Yamâma; some making Baherim the sixth: whilst others reduce the whole to two; Yeman, and Hejas; this last including the other three.

of that fame which has bestowed the title of the "happy land," to the more barren, inhospitable appearance of that part which we have attempted to describe. Here and there, a field of green swad may present itself; a spring, or a well that affords a constant supply induces the residence of some of the more sedentary tribes; a few huts arise, the Date is planted, and affords a partial, insufficient shade: but the dark horrors of the desert, that composes the more retired scenery, will naturally deepen the colouring of the picture which a lively imagination may present to itself; and a garden, a happy land, a paradise, abounding in every convenience, comfort, and luxury, is immediately presented to our view by the enthusiasm of the traveller, or the exuberant indulgencies of pride. The ancients, however, have always been forward in representing the happiness of its clime, its wealth and fertility, in the most glowing language; and Strabo informs us\*, that, misled by a notion of its wealth, Alexander, on his return from India, had formed those plans for the conquest and government of Arabia which were only prevented by his untimely death. The interested policy of the Egyptians had been productive of these delusions; for, engrossing to themselves the greater proportion of the Indian trade, they were unwilling to confess the source from whence those valuable commodities they dealt in were originally derived.

The Arabians, the possessors of the country we have described, have from the most ancient times been distinguished into two distinct classes by the writers of the East, — the old lost Arabians, and the present. The former are described as having been extremely numerous, and divided into several tribes, which are now entirely destroyed, or else lost and swallowed up amongst other and succeeding tribes; nor are there any memoirs or records extant concerning them that can now be found, though the memory of some very remarkable events, and the catastrophe of some tribes, have been preserved by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the Koran. The present race,

\* Lib. xvi. p. 1132. [Also Arian, 161. 123. 153.]

according to their own historians (as we are informed by Sale), are sprung from two stocks : Kahtan, the same with Joctan, the son of Eber ; and Adnân, descended in a direct line from Ismael, the son of Abraham and Hagar. The posterity of the former, they call " Al Arab Al Ariba," *i. e.* the genuine or pure Arabs ; and those of the latter " Al Arab Al Mostareba," *i. e.* the naturalized or insitive Arabs. The uncertainty, however, of the descents between Ismael and Adnân is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they acknowledge as the father of their tribes ; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted.

Forming one of the three distinct \* races that occupy Asia in general, and derived from various origins ; the modern Arabs, the Tartars, and Hindoos, with various tenets for their faith, a distinct unconnected history and different languages, exhibit also that variety and dissimilitude in their personal appearance and disposition which, dwelling in the same parallels, and frequently inhabiting the same country, can only proceed from some original dissimilarity which time and the prohibition of intermarriages must certainly have confirmed. Soft in their manners, and slender in their forms, with luxuriant black tresses and the languid eye of the antelope ; the Indian presents a far more engaging aspect, than the almost beardless and triangular visage of a genuine Tartar. With larger heads and heavier bodies than the Hindoos, with quick restless eyes placed far asunder, and a nose that scarcely rises into prominence ; these are also entirely different in their personal deportment from the Arab race, and the Bedooin of the desert in particular.

The Bedooin Arabs are of an original race ; and as their history reaches back to very remote antiquity, so their conformation, address, and outward form are entirely original ; and very different, I think, from what has so often been related of the sedate and composed

\* In this assertion, we follow the authority of the Asiatic Dissertations, (vol. i. p. 27.) ; it is thought, however, some connection may be traced between the idolatry of the ancient *lost* Arabians, and the religious observances of the Hindoos.

habits of Mahometans in general. Occupying in respect to colour the middle shade between the darker hue of Hindoostan, and the fresher ruddy skin of the Tartar race, the Arab, in point of size and formation, may equally be placed between the softer rounded female form of the Indian, and the heavier spreading bulk of the Cossack and the Kalmuc. Of an active, nervous, middle size, with nothing superfluous about him to impede his motions, the Bedoon and his camel are equally inured to abstinence and fatigue: The longest course cannot quench the fire of his coal black eye, the burning blast of the desert can scarcely depress the more burning spirit of his ardent soul. Quick in his emotions, sudden in his anger, restless, and bred to war, with a body of iron and a soul of fire, the Arab appears, in his habits, to be scarcely capable of the enjoyment of repose, except in those moments of satisfied impatience and inward gratulation, when at ease with himself, and pleased with some visionary phantasy, he may be seen reclining with his pipe, and smoothly stroking with an inward pride the regular manly beard which reaches to his chest. Their affections, apparently, are no less ardent than their resentments; and the fond father playing with a favourite boy, and teaching the naked yearling to throw the reed, in mimic imitation of their hardier strife, is frequently seen indulging in the enjoyment of those affections which are common to mankind, but never more warmly felt than in these desert climes.

The affection which he bears towards his children and his family the Arab extends to every individual of his tribe: their tents or huts are open, and yet is theft amidst these bands of robbers entirely unknown: they are all brothers; and if a community of goods cannot subsist in the state they have attained, an abundant open-handed liberality relieves or shares every want and deprivation that can be felt. Numberless, and remarkable instances of this commendable quality amongst them could be produced; and the learned Sale has furnished us with the following: — “ A dispute had arisen in the court of the Caaba, who, amongst the chiefs of the city,



“ was the most worthy and liberal; when one that was present, to  
“ end the dispute, proposed, the parties should each go to their  
“ particular friend, and ask his assistance; that they might see what  
“ every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly. This being  
“ agreed to, when the first went to Abdallah, he found him with his  
“ foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel for a long journey;  
“ and thus accosted him: ‘ Son of the uncle of the apostle of God,  
“ I am travelling, and in necessity.’ Upon which Abdallah alighted,  
“ and bade him take the camel with all that was upon her; but  
“ desired him not to part with a sword, which happened to be  
“ fixed on the saddle, because it had belonged to Aly the son of  
“ Abutâleb. So he took the camel, and found on her some vests of  
“ silk, and 4000 pieces of gold; but the thing of the greatest value  
“ was the sword. The second went to Kais Eben Saad, whose  
“ servant told him that his master was asleep; and desired to know  
“ his business. The friend answered, that he came to ask Kais’s  
“ assistance, being in want on the road. Whereupon the servant  
“ said, he had rather supply his necessities than awake his master;  
“ and so gave him a purse of 7000 pieces of gold, assuring him  
“ it was all the money then in the house. He also directed him to  
“ go to those who had the charge of the camels, with a certain  
“ token, and take a camel and a slave. When Kais awoke, and  
“ his servant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his  
“ freedom, with a gentle rebuke for not having called him up, as  
“ he would have given more. The third man went to Arâbah, and  
“ met him coming out of his house to go to prayers, leaning on  
“ two slaves through infirmity, and because his eye-sight failed him:  
“ when he had no sooner made known his wants, than Arâbah let  
“ go the slaves, lamenting his misfortune that he had no money,  
“ but desiring him to take both the slaves and sell them; as he  
“ renounced them from that time. Upon which, leaving the slaves,  
“ he groped his way along the walls; and well deserved the praise  
“ his liberality obtained him, since he gave his all.”

Without commenting on this little history, we may believe, that liberality was a virtue very generally practised, when it could thus command attention, and occasion this tale, with many other popular stories of a similar nature. The hospitality of the Arabs was also proverbial from the most ancient times: these qualities are indeed too nearly united to be long kept asunder; and an Arab poet upbraids the inhabitants of Wassut in Mesopotamia, as with the greatest reproach, — “That none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny.”

The liberality and hospitality of the Bedooins have often been the theme of praise; their honour and good faith (we must also believe) are equally unimpeached. Their word may be relied upon, and a generous feeling being once excited, their fidelity is above every trial that can present itself. We might quote instances that have fallen within our own observation: wandering and alone in the desert, we always felt ourselves secure in the honour of their tribes; we must reserve the relation, however, for our regular narrative of events. These are their virtues: they are the virtues of an ardent, brave, independent race: their vices equally partake of the nature of their condition and the personal freedom of their state; so true it is, that the state of society, and the principle of the government which exists, both form and present the index to the vices and virtues of mankind.

Free as the wind, and as impatient of restraint, the Arab cannot bear the slightest opposition to the wishes of his soul: to wish, is with him to attempt; and blood, violence, and strife, enhancing the difficulty, only gratify his pride and aptitude to war. Though honourable and virtuous in the relations of private life, towards strangers and their enemies the Bedooins are implacable and relentless. “Their hand is against every man, and every man’s hand is against them;” for in the desert there are no neutralities, and whosoever is not with them is against their tribe. The man that is honest beyond the powers of corruption in the relations of private life, is a robber by profession towards every one he meets abroad:

the expression is only changed, and his conscience is satisfied. I have *gained* this captive and this wealth in the desert of our ancestors, says the free-booter on his return. I have *gained* it, "God be praised!" in the desert that is mine, and which God, "he is great!" bestowed with all that is in it on my father Ismael and his posterity. Ish Allah! God being willing, I shall gain more when this is gone; the desert is my inheritance. It is thus he reasons, and thus he acts; insatiable and rapacious in the acquirement, as profusely liberal in the dispensing of his spoils, the robber of the desert kills the traveller who resists; and strips and sells the slave that yields. Alla! Akbar! God is great! There is no law betwixt us; yield and serve, or die. Accustomed, themselves, to the desert, to rapid marches, and the abstinence of the anchorit, the Arab has no conception of other feelings in the captive of his arm. If he complain of fatigue, he is driven on by blows; if he faint or fall, he is forced up by the goading of a lance. The labours of the march have not filled the measure of his woes; for as soon as the camel stops, the captive is made to pitch the tent, to dig the well, and to grind the corn that is to serve his mighty lord. Every feeling of humanity seems lost in the hope of obtaining a ransom: there is no hope of mercy, and death presents the only deliverance. Disappointment only irritates; and the captive that cannot work, is frequently dispatched. Such is their treatment of a captive enemy: towards the slaves whom they purchase, their conduct is entirely different. There are instances of a contrary behaviour; it must be acknowledged, however, that they are extremely rare; and that, although the laws of hospitality are ever held inviolate where protection has been sought and granted, yet, unless it be previously assured, the very worst treatment is commonly experienced before the hope of a ransom can induce the Bedoon to relent and forbear. Our travellers have sometimes felt this truth. A Major N——, some few years since, having wandered a short distance from his party to botanise, was suddenly surprised and carried off by a party of the Bedoons. For three days he had been lost, and no account

of him could be obtained: on the fourth he was discovered by the leader of the caravan, at work in a gravel-pit, and almost dead with the ill treatment he had received. These spoilers were not at variance with the tribes he accompanied: the payment of a considerable ransom, however, could alone procure his release.

Their cruelty in this and similar instances is, perhaps, owing to the entire personal freedom which they enjoy; those nations which have boasted the greatest share of *personal* liberty having generally approved themselves harsh and inhuman towards their captives, in proportion to the freedom of their state. Subdued but for a moment, the independence of the Arabs should not the less be attributed to the barrenness of their country, than it is perhaps secured by the wandering habits of their lives. Exceptions have only been temporary and local, and the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies. Sesostris and Cyrus, Pompey and Trajan, could never accomplish their final subjugation; and the Turks themselves, though once a shepherd-race, have never been able to support and exert the doubtful authority they boast. The memory of their independence is the most assured security for its continuance: succeeding generations of hardy, patient warriors, are animated by the recollection. Private feuds are suspended on the approach of an enemy; and they advance to battle with the hope of victory in their front, and the desert of their ancestors for their retreat. As conquerors they are relentless, and if defeated they are not subdued: within the hour, their cavalry has vanished as a mist from before the foe; and within the week, an absolute wilderness of five hundred miles must be traversed in the pursuit. The desert and freedom are their inheritance; and whilst the slaves of kings may vainly exult in their political independence, the Arab is personally free. The Bedouin is personally free: but respecting the nature and value of this freedom let no one deceive himself: theirs is the freedom of licentiousness, it is the absence of restraint; and as their life is a life of danger, vicissitude, and deprivations, so a private citizen of England

enjoys more real comforts, and more pleasing luxuries, than the mightiest leader amongst these wandering tribes.

Their leaders, indeed, (the term which, in our opinion, can best render the meaning of the most common and esteemed distinction amongst these tribes,) are strictly so in every sense. Pre-eminent in his birth, the Shaik is also most commonly the patriarch of the family: he presides in the council and leads the fray: but he neither dictates on the one occasion nor commands on the other, so entirely through the inherent weight of the dignity he holds, as through the influence that is attached to his personal character. In either case, whether politic and vigorous in the government, or weak and pusillanimous, he is equally esteemed the head; but even as such, the authority he exerts is at times limited, at others absolute.

They derive their nobility from the long possession of an authority in the family that has never been subordinate; creations by patent being entirely unknown. Even the descendants of the Prophet have no other proofs of their nobility; though it must be recollected, that as they hold some claims to eminence from the sanctity and fame of his character, so they pretend the family itself is one of the most ancient of the whole; Mahomed having claimed his descent from the family of Kashan, the noblest and most celebrated of the Koreish: Amongst these nobles, the title we have already mentioned is almost the only one that is held as such; the word Shaik being generally appropriate to the heads of tribes, whilst the appellations of Sayid and Sheriff are common to every descendant of the Prophet, as a family distinction. In various parts there are others known; these, however, are the grand outlines; a Shaik is the head of a tribe, a Sheriff and a Sayid the descendants of the Prophet: the first claiming their descent from Hassan, and having devoted themselves from the beginning to a military life; whilst the others are derived from Hoossein, and boast having always applied themselves to the more learned sciences. As to the manner in which the numerous Sheriffs and Sayids we meet with in Mahometan countries preserve the line of their descent, it

must be acknowledged they are not extremely nice. It is still gold, according to a proverb in use, though found in the basest earth; and although the mother should be a slave, the son is a Sayid still. In Turkey, indeed, this complaisance is carried still further, the claims on the mother's side being equally allowed. This very great laxity of attention to the nature of the proof, has, it may be conceived, introduced a variety of abuses; and may ultimately be productive of far different consequences from those intended by the immediate descendants of Mahomed, when they first bestowed the distinction by intermarriages with other tribes, to support themselves against the authority of the Caliphs. At present, however, the distinction maintains itself; and it is still allowed that the Sayids, in some provinces where the descent has been more carefully preserved, may even now expose themselves without the slightest danger in the midst of armed combatants, who will never willingly injure any one of this holy brood. We have had occasion to mention one instance of the sanctity in which they are held, in the fourth chapter of this work; it is equally probable, that, under peculiar circumstances of personal holiness, the distinction is also allowed to the full extent in other parts.

In their moral character, the Arabs are really what the Turks profess; extremely devout, and yet more tolerant and less assuming in their demeanour towards Christians: the vice of drunkenness amongst them, is, I believe, almost unknown. I have indeed been personally acquainted with more Turks who infringed this law than I have even heard of Arabs who were guilty of the like excess. Separated from the rest of the human race, and keeping up the distinctions of their birth with greater care, they have not perhaps the same inducements to indulge; whilst the Turks, on the other hand, who are a motley and ever changing race, are only perhaps following the example of their immediate progenitors in the liberty they privately assume. The *lex talionis* is not unknown amongst the Arabs, and is frequently resorted to, though after a manner sufficiently unjust, the murder being as commonly revenged on some innocent individual of the family as on

the culprit himself. It would be unjust, however, to suppose, that it is maintained in its full extent. That blood is frequently repaid with blood, and that the right of punishment is consequently assumed by the injured family, are circumstances which cannot be denied; to assert that this is *always* the case, however, would be certainly incorrect; the interposition of their chiefs, and other circumstances equally contributing to sooth resentment, and to moderate or punish a practice that is felt repugnant to the welfare of society in general.

With regard to the seclusion of their women, the Arabs are by no means so particular as the Turks. Under the circumstances and habits of the life they lead, it would indeed be entirely impossible; the privacy of their tents being entirely incompetent to these purposes. During our residence amongst them, in the small villages and camps in particular, we constantly met their women, and without veils. They are not allowed to mix with the men, or with strangers, at meals, or in the common offices of society; but in other respects are entirely free: they were not indeed possessed (as far as we could judge) of those charms of person which are likely to excite any very violent desires, or to impose the necessity of restraint. What we have here related must be understood, however, of the wandering tribes and villages only; for it must not be supposed that in considerable towns they enjoy the same liberty. In the great cities their seclusion is nearly the same as among the Turks; and even in the desert, where greater freedom is allowed, the Arab is not the less particular in requiring the most unequivocal decency of demeanour in his wife; insisting from the first, and in the marriage-contract itself, that his bride shall exhibit those proofs of her innocence, which she is expected to confirm by the after-conduct of her life. So particular indeed are they generally found in this respect, that it is commonly a special article of the contract, that the bride is to be returned to her parents unless she can produce the expected testimonials of her virginity; whilst, if any doubts arise, the clause is invariably enforced.

In their manner of living, (as we have already shown; and in truth experienced,) the Bedooïn Arabs are as abstemious from habit and necessity, as our Indians are from choice and the influence of religious prejudice. In the desert, they frequently subsist for weeks together on the coarsest rye-bread, with a few dried dates; and when meat is introduced at their meals, it has seldom undergone any further preparation than boiling in plain water, or broiling on the hearth, even salt being frequently omitted in the seasoning. The personal cleanliness of the Arabs, the Turks, and other Asiatics, has often been spoken of, but we are by no means inclined to accord with what has been said of them by other travellers, who, in the profusion of their commendation of the habits and manners of these foreign climes, are sometimes apt to undervalue our own customs and observances, and to give them credit for those good qualities they certainly do not possess. In my own opinion, as founded on a pretty intimate acquaintance with the practice of Mahometans in general, the Arabs may not be quite so filthy as some European nations have been esteemed; but most certainly, in regard to personal cleanliness, they are not to be compared with ourselves; their frequent ablutions, where water is sufficiently abundant, very imperfectly removing the evils attendant on the length of time they wear their clothes. They make a distinction of hands, it is true, only plunging the right hand into the dish they eat from. This distinction, however, is only observed in company, and is frequently neglected or forgotten on those very occasions which cannot be mentioned, but when the observance might be esteemed of far greater importance. I am aware the contrary of this has been asserted in the praise which has been bestowed upon them, and which would allow of no drawbacks on the perfection of their character, and the superiority of their manners. I speak, however, from my own observation; and the confirmation of this truth might easily be obtained from those who have lived as entirely amongst them as myself, and without becoming absolute converts to their filthy habits in some respects, or the use of hands, instead of



knives and forks, to help themselves from the common dish. \* Circumcision, which is practised by all Mahomedans, and is supposed to contribute to cleanliness, is not amongst the Arabs confined to our sex, the young females of some of their tribes undergoing an oper-

\* Nothing indeed can well reconcile the European to this practice, and the conduct of Asiatics in general, at their meals, does not appear to us, on the whole, entirely consistent with the most received notions of a polite deportment; as although the Arabs especially abhor a certain breach of decency that cannot be named, they almost esteem it a mark of civility to express the *fulness* of their contentment and the abundance of their cheer, in a manner that is almost equally offensive. With so little delicacy in the one instance, their scruples of the opposite transgression are certainly ridiculous enough; and this quaint story is related amongst them as a proof of their strict regard to decorum in that particular:—Abdoola Ben Araba, a merchant of the first quality in Rostack, and equally respected for his wealth, his liberality, and the gravity of his demeanour, had the misfortune, on some public occasion of great solemnity, to be guilty of this act. The transgression was *his* beyond a doubt. In one of the genuflections imposed on the true believers by the tenets of their faith, the awful sound had ascended in melifluent harmony with the inspired moans of the Mufti himself. The elders of the city, the members of the divan, the chief Cadi, with the President of the College, had all been witnesses of his disgrace. Not even the known gravity of his deportment, or the correctness of his former life, could intrude a doubt, as there was no one sufficiently near to share the blame. It was a case of sad distress, that Abdoola Ben Araba, the chief merchant of Rostack, and the most grave and sententious personage of his time, a man whose word was law, (so great was the respect in which he was held,) should have so forgotten himself; and before the elders of the city, the council, and the President himself. It was a disgrace that could not be endured; so he left the mosque during an interval of silent astonishment occasioned by the transgression, and without even taking up his slippers at the door. He fled the town. In the desert, he was taken up by some of the wandering Bedouins; and having nothing about him to soften their disappointment, was thoroughly cudgelled, and sold to another tribe. These were sad misfortunes; they weighed not so heavy on him, however, as his disgrace. His new master proved extremely poor and avaricious; he was obliged to work constantly, and was scarcely allowed the most common food. Cudgelled, overworked, and almost starved to death, he spent ten years in mournful penitence for this involuntary transgression.

At the end of this time, however, having effected his escape, and believing his disgrace would be forgotten, or atoned for by the sufferings he had endured, he resolved to return to his family and the enjoyment of his wealth: but as he drew near, and his doubts returned, he determined to conceal himself for a while, to ascertain, if possible, if the history of his disgrace was still in the recollection of his countrymen. The first persons he met on coming near the gates were two old women in violent dispute; each insisting on the correctness of her memory regarding some past event; when, on drawing closer to them to indulge his curiosity, what was the horror and dismay that possessed his soul, on hearing the elder of the two remind the other she must be correct in her assertions, since the oc-

ation somewhat similar just before they arrive at years of puberty. We are not exactly aware of the manner in which the operation can be performed, as Mahomedans, in general, are seldom very communicative on subjects of this kind; but we have been given to understand, that there are women in every town where the custom is observed, who earn their livelihood by the performance of it; the barbers only being employed in operating on the other sex, and being esteemed unclean from the profession they exercise.

To conclude; the Bedooins live in tents, disdain the confinement of cities, the drudgery of agriculture, and frequently change their abodes. Nature seems, indeed, to have provided them with those quick lively perceptions which are necessary to the errant life they lead; whilst Providence, equally bountiful, has placed the camel at the command of man, in those countries especially where his services and qualities are most eminently requisite. The camel, from his earliest age, is trained to kneel at command, by fixing tight ligatures around his legs. The word is given, and immediately the fore-leg is fastened up in such a manner as to prevent its resting on the ground: he is then left to graze in this position, (as I have often seen him,) and the uneasiness he feels obliges him to kneel to rest himself. On the following day, the exercise is renewed; the ligature is only changed to the other side; the like causes assist the instinct with which he is endowed; and, after a time, the word is sufficient to enforce obedience. Patience and perseverance are equally conspicuous in the animal and his instructor; and a hole is bored through the middle cartilage of

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currence she spoke of had happened on the very day, ten years before, when Abdoola Ben Araba the great merchant of Rostack had \*\*\*\*\*; an EVENT that was still recollected by the whole city, the elders, the council, the Cadi, the Mufti, and the President himself. This was quite sufficient for the unfortunate Abdoola: he returned with speed to the wilderness; leaving his breeches behind him as a testimony to his wife that he was still alive. They are now hung up in the great mosque at Rostack, and are held *in terrorem* to future transgressors; being also esteemed so sovereign a remedy for barrenness in women, that the story will probably be transmitted from generation to generation with the mention of their efficacy in removing this curse.

the nose, through which a ring or chain is passed that may occasionally be used to control his natural restiveness, and to guide his course.

The weight a camel has been said to carry, I have often thought to be considerably exaggerated when stated in his natural history at 700 pounds: in India, where our camels are larger, more strongly formed, and better fed, than in the desert of Arabia, we reckon a camel equal to six coolies, three bullocks, or a pair of mules; and as I have never seen any very unusual loads amidst the thousands that I have passed, I must be inclined to think their powers and strength considerably less than is usually believed. The formation of the camel, indeed, appears far better calculated for speed than strength; but he cannot outcourse the horse, and he is incapable of carrying a greater weight for a continuance than from about four to near five hundred pounds. It is therefore in his hardiness, the smallness of his wants, and his ability to endure thirst, that this animal is chiefly remarkable. But it is deserving of notice, that on his removal from the desert, the camel frequently loses, if not the faculty, at least *the habit* of this singular abstinence. I have enjoyed frequent opportunities of observation, having often had them in my possession, and may certainly assert, that our Indian camels (though of the same kind) are totally incapable of coping with those of the desert in this useful quality. Alive or dead, there is no part of the camel that is not capable of being turned to use: the milk, which is not unlike that of the goat, often feeds the master whom he saves from the pursuit of an enemy; his hair may be worked into useful coverings; and when, exhausted with fatigue, his further progress becomes impossible, his flesh has often been found a sure resource. I once partook of it through curiosity, at one of our Mahomedan festivals as I passed Kurnool; and found it not unlike what the very coarsest kind of lean and aged venison might be thought.

As the camel is of such general use as to be often called the ship of the desert, so the Arabian courser is equally deserving of our attention for his useful qualities. The finest come from the province

of Najd, and the Bedooins preserve with a superstitious care the memory and descent of their purest blood; tracing these various breeds to five original sources, which have each given their name to some peculiar race, and are acknowledged as the parent stock.\* From one or other of these families, the most celebrated Arabians derive their descent through their dam; the Bedooins applying to their horses a proverb other nations have generally confined to their progeny, and esteeming the mother's side the surest beyond a doubt. A horse of the superior race is sometimes allowed to cover a mare of inferior quality, but never the reverse; and an Arab is always retained to witness the ceremony, who also attends at the birth, that he may certify on his own knowledge the purity of the breed. Whether it be owing to this extreme care in the breeding, or to the climate which is generally thought favourable, they are certainly very beautiful creatures; since although a pure Arabian is seldom of any superior height, yet for docility, form, hardiness, and speed, a rival is difficult to be found. Bred in the tents of the Bedooin, like children, they feed at his hand; and follow their master's steps in his wanderings; or when he falls in battle, remain immovable by his side. With an arched, commanding crest; nervous, straight, compact limbs; the shoulder of a racer, and a spreading open chest; the Arab, when provoked to speed, displays an open nostril that snuffs the wind, an eye of fire, and the action, if not the speed, of the antelope. He scarcely feels the ground, or leaves a print behind; whilst his spirit but seems to rise and display itself with the continuance of the chase.

The horse, like the camel, in Arabia is trained very early to submission, to abstinence, and fatigue; he is commonly mounted with a light weight before his second year, and with his age the weight and labour increase, until he is at last brought to endure the most excessive toil, on a very small quantity of the most common food that may

\* There is also another grand distinction of quality, the Kadechi (or unknown in regard to their descent); and the Koochlány or Koohelja Arabs; that is, those whose family is known. We have only spoken of these last, however, the former being held in no esteem, or scarcely thought of in these distinctions.

present itself. In a march of thirty hours which we made across the small desert between Mosul and Nissibin, though we rode almost continually during that time, our horses had no sustenance whatever, besides a few handfuls of an inferior kind of barley, and the dry stubble they could snatch up in their unremitting course. I have indeed observed them frequently feeding with the most apparent relish on such coarse food as the dry burnt up shrubs we passed upon the road; and have often seen a bare stump (the thickness perhaps of my thumb) devoured with the greatest avidity by these patient, hardy, and spirited animals. It is in this facility of subsistence, and in their hardiness, no less than in their beauty and docility, that the pure Arabian of the desert may be distinguished from every other race. In other countries, the horse of the highest blood is commonly the most delicate; with the Arabian it is directly the reverse, and Captain Macdonald Kinneir informs us, in his topographical memoirs of Persia, that he once rode a very young animal of this valuable breed full 90 miles, without even once coming to a stop, or dismounting from his back. The best and most assured market for exportation is Bussora, where hundreds are usually brought to be conveyed to our settlements. The current price of a very superior Arabian on the spot is about 1000 Jyen crush, or near 100%; and when more has been given, it has usually been to induce some unwilling, wealthy Arab to part with a favourite steed.

A question has often been started regarding the expediency of mounting our Madras cavalry on horses of this breed: Nadir Shah, it has been said, and other celebrated conquerors have always given it the preference. I cannot avoid observing, however, that in the solution of a question, no doubt of the first importance to our military efficiency, the authority of this preference is, at the best, extremely doubtful. That Nadir Shah and others have preferred the breed for *their* cavalry by no means proves its fitness for the regularity and simultaneous vigour of our charge. The purposes are different; the requisites for regular and irregular cavalry entirely dissimilar; and this preference itself might be urged as an argument against the fitness

of the Arabian for the service of our army : it being certainly proved by experience, that the greater part of those qualities which are eminently useful in the predatory system of Asiatic cavalry, seldom are found united with a general fitness for the purposes of a regular and well-ordered charge.

The opinion itself, that velocity of motion will in any degree compensate for the want of weight, is one of those, I believe, which, had it never been contested, was destined to fall beneath the overpowering, irresistible conviction which the most glorious of our late successes has been calculated to impress. At the battle of Waterloo, I believe it is generally known, and thought no disparagement to their fame, that one of our best dragoon regiments was three times repulsed by the superior weight of Napoleon's cuirassiers ; and that it was not until they were encountered by troops of their own description, and absolutely *borne down* by their Colossean adversaries, that this celebrated regiment could be broken. But these are not the only objections that might be urged ; and if weight and superior height were not a greater requisite than velocity in the charge of regular cavalry, still the selection of Arab horses would be liable to the following objections : — 1st, In regard to our European regiments of dragoons, the Arabians are not equal to the weight ; a dragoon of the middle height, (as was proved before General Wetheral,) weighing full eighteen stone, with his saddle, arms, accoutrements, ropes, and pickets. 2dly, In respect to this superior speed itself, the *great argument* in favour of the Arabian, I think it may be shown, that for the charge, it does not even exist : it does not exist in one of the qualities of velocity, *impetus*, or “ a *violent tendency to any point* ;” the motion of the Arab being rather a *quickly renewed tendency*, as perhaps the following observations may prove : —

An Arab (we must first premise) can never be thrown so well on his haunches as the country horse : he gallops close to the ground ; owes the greater part of his velocity, less to the extent he covers at a bound, than to the closeness of his motion to the ground he clears ; and to the extreme quickness with which the action is re-

newed in the close gathering up of his legs; facts that may be established by measuring the prints, and are generally known. But I believe it will be allowed, that the impulse that carries the greater weight, across the greater extent of ground, must be far superior, and far more overpowering than the exertion which is requisite for moving an inferior weight, over an inferior space; and that if it were not so, *i. e.* if the heavier body did not require, and had not, the greater original impulse for moving over the greater space, most certainly the action could not be accomplished. Within each particular bound, therefore, the impetus is greater in the larger body; whilst it is only in the almost imperceptible interval of gathering up his legs, that the race is lost by the larger horse. But the decisive moment of the charge is the single bound that brings the charger in contact with the enemy; and in this single and decisive motion, the greater velocity (as we have, we believe, proved) is really united with the greater weight; whilst the very nature and quality of this motion itself, as springing more from the haunches and descending from above, is certainly far better calculated to bear down opposition, than the impetus that strikes at the level of the chest. The Arabian, then, is, on the whole, the inferior of the two for the purposes of a charge; being equally wanting in weight, size, and impetus, and also very difficult to restrain within the ranks when warm with exercise.

We have taken a more particular notice of the camel of the desert, and of the Arabian steed, as of animals that are applicable in their nature to the most important military purposes: Arabia has others, however, that are not so often spoken of, or noticed by the traveller, though very probably equally deserving of the attention of the naturalist. The province of Oman is famous for a breed of asses that grow to a very superior size; and the Arabian greyhound, I think, for speed, instinct, and hardiness, might also be mentioned as equally pre-eminent. The traveller, however, who has not certain advantages, had better not venture any further beyond his depth, than we have perhaps already done in certain parts of these enquiries; we shall

therefore proceed onwards, and to the subject of the following chapter. The first part of its materials was furnished us at Bagdad, and from a safe quarter : we shall hereafter name our authority in its proper place: the latter portion we collected, in general, from Derwesh Aga, an aged nobleman of the first rank, who, having been minister under Sayud Pasha, had taken refuge in the British residency during those troubles which we shall have occasion to relate ; and was also from his age, his abilities, and the stations he had filled, the best qualified we could select to answer our enquiries. It is very imperfect, most certainly, as a *history* of the Pashalik ; it contains, however, the best written and oral information we could obtain : whilst we can only hope, the subject may be taken up by an abler pen.



## CHAPTER VII.

SUMMARY REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF BAGDAD, AS A PASHALIK OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE, FROM THE YEAR 1638 (BEING THE 1048 OF THE HEGYRA); WHEN IT WAS RETAKEN FROM THE PERSIANS BY SULTAN AMURAT: CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT DAY.

**I**F we look back to the remotest ages, no country, I believe, will be found so much celebrated in the history of mankind as that now desert tract, which the Tigris and the Euphrates inclose within their banks: specially appointed for the abode of man in the days of his innocence, it gave birth to the first monarchy we have on record; and was a kingdom even in that rudest period of its infancy, when the more ferocious animals contended with man for the mastership of the earth.

The centre of those two Assyrian empires of which Babylon was the capital; the glories it then boasted only faded to revive with equal or superior lustre in Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad. As the metropolis of the empire of the Saracens, the celebrity of Bagdad is nearly coëval with the brightest era in the history of the Caliphat; as it was originally founded in the reign of Mahomed the Second, surnamed Abu Jâfar Almansur, on the site of a small garden a Christian hermit had occupied, and from which it derives its name.

It is not from this remote period, however, that we propose to begin our retrospect. It flourished in all its pride, and almost from its very birth, in the reign of the celebrated Haroun Al Raschid. Under his immediate successors, it was already in its decay; Tangrolipix (a Turkish chieftain), and Ullahoon, or Ullah Khan, (a Tartar conqueror,) ultimately completing that subversion of the Caliphat, which success, luxury, and intestine divisions had commenced.

The first and only period in which we can find materials for resuming its history, is that when, after a series of humiliations in the days of its adversity, it again emerged as a secondary planet in the great orbit of new-born empires contending for pre-eminence. As such, it was alternately possessed by the Persians and the Turks; and this cursory review of its history, as the capital of a Pashalik, is intended to begin, from the time when it was retaken from the Persians by Sultan Amurat, and finally annexed to the empire of the Ottomans.

As religion, whose spirit is peace and amity, is perhaps more frequently brought in to sanction war and desolation than any other cause, so, in the present instance, ambition was not backward in recurring to it for its apology and justification. The arrogant opponents of the Turks, the Persians (as Sheeites), had not only denied, but even profaned the sanctity of that holy sepulchre which the pious Sunites had erected to the memory of Hanefy, one of the most learned doctors of their faith. This profanation, and the oppressions their brethren laboured under from these abhorred heretics, were injuries which a sultan of the Ottomans could not endure. A learned expounder of the Koran from Bagdad, presenting himself at the capital, requested permission to preach before the sovereign at the mosque. He represented, in the strongest language and most touching manner, the sufferings of their orthodox brethren, the insolence of the Rafeedites or the heretics, and their profanation of the temple of their Imam Hanefy El Azen. Did it then become the Sultan of the Ottomans, who professed himself a follower of Abu Hanefy, to endure these wrongs, to submit to this disgrace? It did not. Bagdad was conveniently situated as a frontier town: it had formerly belonged to the Turks, who constantly regretted the loss of those advantages which its position held forth. The opportunity was favourable, a strong party existing within the walls: the spirit of religious enthusiasm had been aroused, and an army was soon collected. The attack was decided upon, and immediately commenced: its girded strength bowed down to the majesty

of the sovereign ; and the triumphant Amurat made his entry by a gate that was immediately built up, as too highly honoured by the selection to be profaned by inferior footsteps. As long as it remains closed up, (so the tradition holds,) the empire of the Ottomans within the walls is immutable.

Aware of the importance of the place, and of the dangerous powers entrusted to its governors, it was the policy of Amurat and his immediate successors to weaken the influence of these chiefs by frequent removals. The first Pashas therefore were merely governors, under the immediate appointment of the sovereign ; and succeeded each other in the order we shall observe in the following list. It is indeed a very imperfect document, since it can only present a bare enumeration of their names ; it contains, however, the only authority we could obtain regarding the order of those thirty-seven reigns, which fill up sixty-seven years of this history, and precede that period when the power of these chiefs became more permanent and secure.

Sultan Amurat, it would appear, after the conquest in 1638, (being the 1048th year of the Hegyra,) must have remained in Bagdad for nearly a year ; as it was not until after this lapse of time that the first (Hassan Pasha) was appointed to the government, in A. H. 1049

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |      |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| 2. Derwish (the Anchoret or Monk) Mahomed Pasha succeeded | - | - | - | - | - | 1050 |
| 3. Kutschik (the Little) Hassan Pasha for the second time | - | - | - | - | - | 1052 |
| 4. Delli (the Extravagant) Hassan Pasha                   | - | - | - | - | - | 1054 |
| 5. Mussa Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1055 |
| 6. Mahomed Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1056 |
| 7. Makkil (the Murdered) Ibrahim Pasha                    | - | - | - | - | - | 1057 |
| 8. Arslan Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1058 |
| 9. Hossein Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1059 |
| 10. Malêk (the Angel, or the Handsome) Achmed Pasha       | - | - | - | - | - | 1060 |
| 11. Kara (the Mulatto) Mustapha Pasha                     | - | - | - | - | - | 1061 |
| 12. Mortada Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1065 |
| 13. Kairam (the Charitable) Mahomed Pasha                 | - | - | - | - | - | 1068 |

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |           |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 14. Chasaki Mahomed Pasha, (i. e. he who had received the name of <i>Chasaki</i> , because he had served at Constantinople in the corps that had destroyed the banditti) in | - | - | - | - | - | A.H. 1069 |
| 15. Kenbur (the Hunchbacked) Mustapha Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1072      |
| 16. Pomboy (the Fair) Mustapha Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1074      |
| 17. Kara Mustapha Pasha, for the second time,   | - | - | - | - | - | 1075      |
| 18. Ibrahim Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1076      |
| 19. Kara Mustapha Pasha, for the third time, *  | - | - | - | - | - | 1078      |
| 20. Selichdar (the Sword-bearer, an office he had filled to the Grand Seignior) Hassain Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1082      |
| 21. Abdool Rachman Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1086      |
| 22. Kaplan Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1087      |
| 23. Omar Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1089      |
| 24. Ibrahim Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1093      |
| 25. Omar Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1095      |
| 26. Serhausch (the Drunkard) Achmed Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1097      |
| 27. Omar Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1099      |
| 28. Hassan Pasha, for the first time,   | - | - | - | - | - | 1100      |
| 29. Bazargan (the Merchant) Achmed Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1102      |
| 30. Kitchoda Achmed Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1103      |
| 31. Kalaili Achmed Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1105      |
| 32. Ali Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1106      |
| 33. Ismael Pasha  | - | - | - | - | - | 1108      |
| 34. Daldaban, (i. e. he who did not wear the Schakschar, or high red trowsers) Mustapha Pasha   | - | - | - | - | - | 1110      |

\* The Pashas, as frequently happens, having been originally Georgian slaves in the service of their predecessors, and gradually promoted to the highest offices, cannot always be distinguished by their family name; a surname, indeed, being even more generally adopted or given amongst the Turks. In the present instance, the Pasha appears to have been a mulatto, and so highly respected for his conduct and abilities, as to have been appointed to the government on three different occasions. In the reigns of Hassan and Achmed Pasha, the only two after him that were twice honoured with a firman, the like authority in the removal, it will be seen, could not have been so readily exerted against a man of his talents and influence.

35. Jussóff Pasha	- - - - -	A.H. 1112
36. Ali Pasha	- - - - -	1113
37. Hassan Pasha, for the second time,	- - - - -	1114

We have given this list on the authority of a translation from the German of Niebuhr: we shall pursue a more detailed account of the history of their successors, partly on the same authority, and partly, as already stated, on the information we obtained from Derwish Aga, a venerable Turk of 70, who had filled some of the highest offices of the state during the latter reigns, and was personally acquainted with facts, though not so communicative as we could have wished; — a ground-work which, however deficient it may be in regard to minute particulars, is, we may believe, on the whole sufficiently correct.

It is one of the misfortunes attendant on despotic authority, that the very means which are taken for securing its permanency are very frequently productive of opposite results. Where the law is known, and the individual abuse of delegated power is alone to be guarded against, a quick succession of governors may certainly render the assumptions of ambition equally dangerous and difficult. Where every thing depends, however, on a despot's will, and this will itself is liable to constant changes and fluctuations, this mistaken system can only be productive of weakness and anarchy; until at last the evil works its own remedy, and the necessity of power in the government to the well-being of society being felt, it arises of itself, and in defiance, as it were, of those boundaries which had been set to the encroachments of ambition.

This proved nearly the case with the earlier Pashas of Bagdad. At first they were the creatures only of a paramount authority: but as this high authority itself was far removed, and frequently weak and fluctuating in its councils, it required, for its own preservation, that this very pageant itself should be entrusted with sufficient powers to obviate the evils attendant on the weakness and remoteness of the parent source. The contrary policy, in retaining its command over the chief himself, gradually lost that influence and respect with the

multitude which could only belong to the vigorous display of local strength; and as the Pashas were merely governors entrusted with delegated powers until about the reign of Kara Hassan Pasha, so after this period their authority sunk, through its own weakness and mutability, into that utter contempt, which deprived the Sovereign himself of that mere shadow of influence he had until then retained: the lives and fortunes of his more immediate representatives and their officers only depending on the fiat of an authority, which continued in this insecure predicament for about thirty years, until 1702, when Hassan Pasha was appointed for the second time to the government.

During this period of anarchy, the condition of Bagdad and its inhabitants may be esteemed sufficiently unfortunate. Holding at the best an honour equally insecure and dangerous, the Janizaries were masters of the town,—the Arabs of the surrounding country; whilst commerce remained entirely at a stand through the want of protection and mutual confidence; so that the Turkish and Syrian merchants, entirely forsaking Bagdad, travelled commonly as far as Ispahan to meet those from India and other parts.

HASSAN PASHA reigned a sufficient time to humble the Janizaries and the Arabs, to re-establish his authority and the security of his dominions; but he was still confined to the town itself, and the districts which immediately surrounded it; the province of Schähr Essul comprehending the greater part of Kurdistan, Merdin, and Bussora, having its separate governors for each of those places. Equally politic and resolute, he availed himself of the divisions which existed in Persia; was rewarded with the addition of Merdin to his government; and by his intrigues obtained that of Bussora for his son Achmed, on the promise of remitting annually a certain sum to the Grand Seignior, who, until then, had found it only an expense. He died at last of sickness at Kirmanshah, in one of his campaigns, after having governed the Pashalik for two-and-twenty years.

ACHMED, who, as Pasha of Bussora, accompanied his father on this occasion, pushed for Hamadan without delay, and made himself

master of the town. By this feat, he acquired so high a reputation, as to be appointed not only to the Pashalik of Bagdad, but to those of Merdin and Bussora also, with the view of stimulating his zeal, and enabling him to pursue his wars against the Persians with greater efficiency. It was under his government in 1732 that Nadir Shah besieged Bagdad for eight months together, but without success, Achmed Pasha buying him off in the end by the restoration of the cannon he had taken at Hamadan. The first time, he governed eleven years immediately after his father; at the end of this period, the Grand Vizir of the day, who had been present at the taking of Hamadan, and was jealous of his fame, obtained an order for his recall. It was generally believed that Achmed Pasha would have resisted the imperial firman; and his enemies only waited for this opportunity to proclaim him a rebel, and to set a price upon his head. Contrary to their expectations, however, he immediately obeyed the mandate, retiring from the helm with an equal reputation for courage and abilities, for prudence and fidelity.

In the short space of two years only, several pashas were appointed\*; but as these were found totally incapable of keeping the town's people and the Arabs in subjection, and as the power of Nadir Shah was increasing in the interim, the Grand Seignior and his divan were in a manner forced to appoint Achmed a second time, as the only person capable of preserving order, and keeping this great enemy in check. Aware of the value of his services, he availed himself of the necessity his master was under of employing him. He could not attempt any conquests from so powerful an enemy as Nadir Shah; but he contrived, as the commander of the Turkish army, to separate several districts from the Pashaliks of Kurdistan, and other surrounding governments, and transferred them to his own. Nadir Shah often gave him credit, on these occasions, for being the cleverest of the three; for when it was in contemplation to remove him from his government a second time, he contrived to

\* Ismael Pasha, and Topal (the Lame) Mahomed Pasha.

induce the wily Persian to attack Bussora. Upon this he was not only confirmed in his various dignities by a new firman, but was supplied with money, artillery, and warlike stores, in the greatest profusion, for the defence of the place.

It is very generally believed, that the Grand Seignior had more than once dispatched a Capadji Bachi with a firman for his head; but that, having a Kapu Kiahjasi (or agent) and many friends at the capital, and on the road, he had invariably contrived to have them plundered of their firman or massacred on the way. At last, however, another Capadji Bachi was sent so secretly, and made such speed, that Achmed obtained the information a few hours only before his arrival. His situation becoming thus extremely critical, he had only time to mount his horse and sally out of the city, with his principal officers, under pretence of amusing himself with throwing the dsjerid; a warlike game in practice amongst the Turks. This game is already known: every horseman is followed by an attendant, who carries a supply of blunted darts for the sport; and as soon as they arrive on the ground for the exercise, whilst the old men seat themselves to smoke and drink coffee, the youth who partake of the sport pursue each other at speed, watching a proper opportunity for throwing the dsjerid at their adversary. Achmed Pasha (as he had expected) met the Capadji Bachi just outside the city gates; and receiving him with every possible honour, as the distinguished bearer of an imperial firman, invited him to partake of the amusement; offering himself to be his antagonist. The Turks are passionately fond of a game that is eminently calculated for a display of personal vigour and address; and it was an honour, indeed, which the guest could not refuse. Leaving business to the morrow, they commenced their course; when Achmed Pasha privately receiving a *steel-pointed* javelin, hurled it at his insidious but unsuspecting adversary with all his force, and killed him on the spot. The dreadful packet that contained the order for his own immediate death was then carefully sealed up, with every other paper the Capadji Bachi had brought, and was immediately sent back



with a letter of condolence on this *unfortunate accident*, as of too high an importance to be opened or inspected without special license from the sovereign.

Achmed Pasha left two daughters behind him at his death, both born of the same mother, his only wife. He excelled in, and was extremely fond of, all warlike and manly exercises ; and delighted, in particular, in hunting the lion of the wilderness ; commonly attacking the animal alone, and allowing no one to interfere, lest he should lose the entire honour of the chase. On one of these occasions, having turned and attacked one of these ferocious creatures, he was so unfortunate as to break his lance, when his officers keeping back, for fear of offending him, his life might have paid the forfeit of his temerity, had he not been providentially rescued from this extremity by Solyman, a Georgian slave of his father's ; who, at the risk of losing his master's favour or his life, rode up and struck the animal to the ground. This service was immediately repaid by the promise of Achmed's eldest daughter for his wife ; and was the means of raising him progressively, from an inferior employment, to those higher dignities, which placed him ultimately in the possession of the honours of the Pashalik. When a slave is thus rewarded, we need scarcely wonder the burden of servitude should sit so light ; and the occurrence is by no means uncommon.

At the death of Achmed, (who fell in a campaign against the Koords,) after a reign of three-and-twenty years, the governors of the inferior towns and provinces, who were commonly the creatures of his father and himself, were generally inclined to support the appointment of Solyman, who was Kaija or minister at the time, and was equally respected for his courage and abilities, and on his wife's account ; she being the daughter and the grand-daughter of the two ablest princes who had reigned among them. The Grand Seignior, however, who was jealous of the increasing influence of the family, immediately prevented their interposition, by dispatching another to fill up the vacancy, softening the act, in his policy, by the appointment of Solyman to the government of Bussora.

Invested with a troublesome office at the best, the new \* Pasha, and three others, who were appointed within two years, found themselves unequal to the task. One was plundered by the Arabs on his way, and was received with scorn and derision on his arrival; another died before he could reach Bagdad; and the remaining two, entirely unable to stem the current, were scarcely masters even within the city walls. At last, Solyman advanced openly from Bussora with his "Yts Agasis," or household troops, as far as Semawe; and when ordered to retire, proceeded forward in contempt of the authority as far as Diwanie, where Aly Aga, who had been brought up by the preceding Pasha, and was also devoted to his cause, happened to command. † These chiefs understood each other thoroughly, and Aly supplied Solyman with money, though he pretended to fly from him to Bagdad, to carry the news of his great successes and rapid advance. Immediately an army of 14,000 men was ordered out, the Pasha advancing in person at their head to encounter Solyman, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Hellah, with only 800 horse. Every one wondered at his temerity in awaiting the assault: Aly Aga, however, had disposed all the officers in his favour during his residence in the capital. When the troops were drawn up, therefore, and he presented himself to their view, (as agreed upon with Aly Aga,) they immediately came over to his side; the unfortunate Mahomed Teriaki being forced to a precipitate retreat towards the capital, where he was even denied admittance at the gates.

Solyman (the forty-sixth Pasha), on his arrival, being received with joy and acclamations, immediately took into his hands the reins of government; whilst a memorial, drawn up by the Divan or council of the Pashalik, representing the grievances they laboured

\* Hadsji (who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca) Achmed Pasha; Radsjeb Pasha; Eltchi (who had been sent as an ambassador) Pasha; last Mahomed Pasha Teriaki, (that is, the Violent,) who was the forty-fifth Pasha of Bagdad.

† This is the Aly mentioned by Ives as the commandant of Hellah: he succeeded Solyman under the title of Aly the Persian.

under, and praying for the appointment of Solyman, was transmitted to the Porte. When the person is once in possession, a request of this nature is generally granted; in a word, Solyman was confirmed in the government of Bagdad, and was also entrusted with those other provinces which Achmed Pasha and his father had usurped.

Solyman Kaija (also called the great Solyman) reigned for thirteen years, so entirely to the general satisfaction of the people, that at his death funeral songs were composed in memory of his fame, which are sung in the coffee-houses of Bagdad to the present day. The Arabs of the desert (as mentioned in one of the preceding chapters) have never been kept in such perfect submission as during his own and his father-in-law Achmed's reigns. Before their time, it had been impossible to navigate the Euphrates from Hellah to Bussora, without a considerable escort; who were generally paid enormously for their services. Under this active prince, however, the traveller enjoyed an entire security throughout his dominions, as he was extremely severe towards the Arabs in particular: whilst the roads through Persia being less secure, the trade from India, through Gamberoon and Isphahan, was gradually transferred to Bussora and Bagdad, to the great advantage of these towns and the surrounding provinces.

He generally attacked the Arabs so suddenly, that they had scarcely time to withdraw themselves to the desert; and whilst he was called Solyman the Lion within the city, he was distinguished by the Bedouins as "Solyman Abu el lejl," or Solyman the father of night; it being commonly during the night that he commenced these expeditions, giving himself no rest until the object was accomplished. Even the neighbouring Pashas, though acting under the same authority, were certain of feeling the vengeance of his wrath whenever they failed to restrain the tribes under their immediate government; and a caravan from Bagdad having been robbed by some wandering tribes dependent on the Pashalik of Damascus, it is asserted that he crossed the desert in nine days with his troops, and plundered the city in revenge

of the insult offered him ; though it was equally under the dominion of the Grand Seignior his superior lord. Facts such as these may astonish our European readers, but it is only by this vigorous and daring policy that order can be maintained in the despotic but feeble governments of the East.

Achmed Pasha had generally respected valour even in an enemy ; but it was one of the most unamiable traits in the character of Solyman, that he felt it a detraction from his own merit to hear the praises even of a friend. The chief cause of complaint against him, however, was the extreme deference he generally showed to the opinion and wishes of his wife ; who, being the daughter of a pasha of the first rank, and both proud and ambitious, could scarce forget that notwithstanding his present high dignity, her husband had once been her father's slave. This lady, Adile Chatun, had certain days appointed, when those who had any favours to request were allowed to be introduced ; not into her immediate presence, (this being repugnant to the customs of Mahomedans,) but into the antichamber of the royal harem ; where a confidential eunuch received the petition, and communicated her answer in return. By these means, she became acquainted with every thing that was going on, and could thus very frequently render abortive those very measures which had been adopted after the most mature deliberations. Equally rapacious and ambitious, Adile Chatun had also means of raising considerable sums for her own private use. It must be understood, that whenever any of the Agas obtains a charge, or is confirmed in the possession, the Pasha invests him with a pelisse, if a Turk ; or a long abbas or cloke, if an Arab Shaik. On these occasions, this lady made it her practice to send a fillet of embroidered silk, to be worn round the head as a mark of honour by those chiefs who had served her father Achmed, or grandsire Hassan, and in order also to distinguish them from those of a later date. In time, however, this favourite badge was sought after with eagerness, and commonly purchased with considerable presents ; and from this reign, in fact, it became usual, with the pelisse of ceremony, for the Pasha's lady to transmit this silken favour ;

which, though of no importance to the investiture, was generally purchased at a great expense.

This was not, however, the only source of uneasiness which the ambition of this haughty dame created for her husband Solyman. She lived in a constant state of disagreement with her younger sister, who had married Achmed Aga, a man of distinguished rank, ancient family, and high in the favour of the Pasha himself. He had refused the honours which had been offered to him, on condition that he would dispatch his brother-in-law Solyman; but as he had the misfortune to excite her suspicions, he lost his head; as if he had aspired to those honours which he had contemned. The two sisters, becoming through this event more inveterate than ever against each other; Solyman at last persuaded his sister-in-law to marry Omar, his *kaija* or minister, in order to unite their divided interests. This prince had no greater inclination than his predecessor Achmed to present his neck to the bow-string; but as it was clearly understood at Constantinople, that the Grand Seignior could never recover his authority until this family was removed, it is very generally believed that several attempts were made on his life by firing at him: be this as it may, however, suspicion was enough with Solyman, who made it a rule to strike off the heads of those whom he doubted, without even the ceremony of an appeal.

It has already been observed, that Achmed Pasha died in one of his campaigns against the Pasha of Koördistan. His death was perfectly natural, but Adile Chatun would allow her husband no rest until he had revenged his fall on the person who had been the chief cause of this campaign. For this purpose Solyman entered Koordistan on more than one occasion, but his adversary always contriving to escape him by retiring to the hills, he was at last constrained to have recourse to stratagem, and the most earnest protestations of friendship and forgiveness. With these views his adversary was invited to court, with assurances of safety, and had a sumptuous silken favour sent him by the deceitful dame, as the highest honour that could be conferred on him; when, being misled

by these favours, the Koord was so unguarded as to place himself in her power, he was immediately seized, and on the following day was strangled in the private apartments of the Seroy.

Jealous of her influence, this ambitious dame never allowed her husband the indulgence of a second marriage, or of entertaining any female slaves; so that when he died without children, she became possessed of all his wealth, and was still in Bagdad, in the full enjoyment of an immense fortune and considerable influence in 1764. In the capital she built a mosque and caravanseray that bear her name; whilst there are few of the inferior towns that are not also indebted to her munificence for some of their principal ornaments.

When Solyman Pacha died, ALY AGA, of whom mention has been made already, was Moteslim of Bassora. As he had filled most of the principal appointments of the Pashalik, and was generally esteemed, he immediately conceived hopes of obtaining this honour for himself; and succeeded in the end through the recommendation of the Divan, and the presents which he sent the ministers. He reigned, however, but two-and-twenty months; and it is generally suspected, as we shall have occasion to relate, that Adile Chatun was the occasion of his disgrace. He had not been brought as a slave to Bagdad, (which is commonly the case with all the principal officers,) but was born of poor Mahomedan parents in Persia; from which circumstance he is generally called Aly Aga "Adsjeimi," or the Persian. Having in his youth entered the service of one of Achmed Pasha's officers, he had conducted himself so well as to deserve the notice of the prince himself, who had him instructed in every thing that is required of a man of rank amongst the Turks, and promoted him in the end to offices of the highest trust and dignity. Adile Chatun, who had known him in his youth, and was thus aware of the favours he had received from her father, had hoped to take a leading part in the government, as she had done during her husband's lifetime. In this, however, she was entirely disappointed, as Aly Aga had resolved to reign alone and with severity; and to humble the power of the Janizaries, who are often too assuming; especially

during those intervals of lax control which must take place between the demise of the one Pasha and the accession of his successor. As they are as seditious at Bagdad as they are at Bussora, he felt the necessity of this policy ; but as many of the inhabitants are also enrolled on the list of Janizaries, for the advantages the rank holds forth, the attempt was productive of a revolt ; the town's people joining with the troops and obliging the Pasha to leave the city.

By the help of the principal Arabian tribes, who are in general in opposition to the inhabitants of the town, and by his intelligence with the principal nobles, who were also amongst his friends, he returned very shortly, and had several of the Janizaries condemned to death. A little after this, the inferior Pashas of Koordistan, and the tribe of the Chasaël Arabs, also rose in arms : the first he soon reduced ; but from the last he experienced so complete a defeat, that the Arabian poets composed a song on the victory of this Moädan, which became soon so well known, that it was even sung in the streets of Bagdad. It was now that Adile Chatun, having long and anxiously waited for the opportunity, began to act. She could no longer bear to see that she was never consulted ; that her advice was not even listened to, and that it was even in contemplation to remove her from Bagdad. She determined, therefore, upon his fall. Aly, it is said, was privately a Sheeite, or a partisan of the Persian sect. It was urged in proof of this, that he had acted with cruelty towards the Koords and Janizaries who were Sunnites ; and had allowed the Sultan's troops to be defeated by the Chasaël, who were of that hated sect : the people, upon this, immediately took it into their heads that they could recollect other cases besides these, wherein Aly had shown himself more inclined to favour the Sheeites than the Sunnites. It became, in fact, a settled point, that in his heart the Pasha was a heretic, and it was already feared he only watched an opportunity for delivering the whole Pashalik to their enemies the Persians.

Amongst the great men of Bagdad, there were five nobles, who had all been bought as slaves when extremely young by the preceding pashas, and brought up as Mahometans. These filled, by turns,

every appointment of consequence, whether in the provinces or in the town, or about the Pasha's court; and as they lived in the utmost harmony as brothers, and were so intimately acquainted with Aly, (whom they had indeed assisted in his elevation,) it is certain they might and ought to have paid some attention to these reports. They felt, however, the highest esteem for Adile Chatun, as the granddaughter, daughter, and wife, of their preceding benefactors, although her imperious disposition had often displeased them. It so happened, whilst things were in this state, that one of the five died very suddenly: she immediately gave out, that he had been poisoned by the Pasha; and had the address so to colour the accusation, as to render it extremely probable; asserting she had even obtained information that the Pasha had intrigued for a firman to take away their lives. Where treachery of the kind is an every-day occurrence, it would have been almost imprudent to condemn the information. They esteemed it indispensable to consult their own safety: they had been the chief support of the Pasha's authority: they rose in arms to lead a conspiracy, that was planned so secretly as to be unknown to all his friends, until the moment of execution had arrived; when he found at once the whole town had risen against him, and that safety could only be found in instant flight. Abandoned and alone, he left the Seroy in the disguise of a woman, but being detected as he was endeavouring to leave Bagdad, to seek protection amongst the Arabs, he was immediately brought back and put to death.

When Aly fell, the Divan was immediately assembled to select a pasha from the four nobles already noticed. Two of them refused the honour, thinking, that Omar as Kaija, and as the husband of Achmed's youngest daughter, had the greatest right: the third, Machmud, a bold and daring chief, would not have been equally diffident; but he was absent as Motselim of Bussora.

OMAR, who was present, was not certainly noted for his abilities in the cabinet, or his conduct in the field. But as the husband of a lady who was respected and beloved for her amiable qualities, and for her father's sake, and who had suffered greatly from her eldest sister's



pride, (having lost her first husband through her jealousy,) he was proposed in the Divan, and was invested with the charge in the interim. A memorial was then drawn up, as is usual in the like cases, wherein it was represented, "that Aly had been an heretic, and that he had designed to betray the city into the hands of the Persians; on which account, amongst other reasons, the people had risen in rebellion, and put him to death. That the Koords and the Arabs had also risen; and, in short, that there was no one capable of restoring tranquillity except Omar; for which reasons, he had been invested with an authority that it was hoped the Grand Seignior would confirm." We have already noticed, that according to the present customs of the Turkish empire, the possessor is generally confirmed, however irregular his election may have been. This confirmation itself saves the imperial dignity, costs nothing, and can always be annulled by a new appointment as soon as the opportunity presents itself. Omar, therefore, on the strength of this representation, and in right of possession, was confirmed in the summer of 1764.

In the following year, Omar took the field against the Arab tribe of Chasaël, fired Lemlum, the usual residence of the reigning Shaik, and struck off the heads of five or six inferior chiefs. Having represented their humiliation as complete, in his report of these transactions to the Grand Seignior's court, he received the compliments of the Visir on these great successes. In the mean while, however, the expelled Shaik, who had fled immediately on the Pasha's approach, returned very unexpectedly, expelled the intruder who had been appointed in his stead, and compelled the Pasha, who was unwilling to venture another campaign so very suddenly, to acknowledge and confirm the dignity he had already reassumed. The tribe of the Kaab Arabs were equally troublesome during this reign; and it may be said with truth, that a year never went by, without the necessity of operations against the Arabs and the Koords;—a circumstance of which the Pashas generally avail themselves, as an excuse for remitting no tribute to the Porte, on account of the expenses these wars entail.

The consort of Omar Pasha, like her sister, never permitted her husband to have another wife, or any female slaves; and as they had no children, the Grand Seignior was presented with a favourable opportunity of recovering the influence he had lost through the usurpations of Hassan's family. An attempt accordingly was made, as we shall have occasion to relate, but it only served to show, that the inhabitants of Bagdad had been too long accustomed to a Pasha of their own appointment, to submit willingly to a nomination from the Porte. In 1775, Bussora was besieged by Kerim Khan, Shah of Persia Shirazie; and whilst some asserted that the Persians never intended to engage in hostilities against the Grand Seignior, and only wished to reduce the power, and humble the pride of Omar, with whose conduct they were dissatisfied; it was generally believed at court, that he had invited them to the attack, (in imitation of Achmed's conduct,) to render himself necessary to his sovereign. Several Pashas were therefore sent with an army against him, who had at last the address to obtain possession of Omar's person about the beginning of 1776, under assurances of pardon, and a promise of being appointed to the government of Orfa in return. The Turks, however, seldom keep their word, on occasions of this kind; and his head was immediately struck off, and sent to the capital. This event had not, however, the effect of re-establishing the authority of the Grand Seignior on a more secure foundation than it stood upon before; Abdoola Kaija being immediately raised to this dignity by a popular election, and his appointment confirmed as in preceding instances.

In the very outset of ABDOOLA's reign in the spring of 1777, the Persians obtained possession of Bussora by the treachery of its governor; but their presence only contributed to increase the disorders which prevailed, without producing any permanent advantages to themselves; Kerim Khan being almost immediately recalled from his new conquests, by the approach of an enemy from the other side. Insecure in the possession of those honours, which depended only on the fickle will of the lawless multitude, and a few leading chiefs; and no longer deriving their claims to obedience from the prior appoint-

ment of a superior power, Abdoola, Abdee, Mustapha, and Hassan, reigned together about eight years only ; and were merely the pageants of an authority which the great men of the city divided amongst themselves. Alternately the slaves or the tyrants of the multitude, or their officers, these chiefs were only remarkable for the vices and weakness of their character ; leaving scarcely a trace of their history behind, unless we should record the very unusual severity of Mustapha towards those who were accused of certain unnatural crimes which are but too common amongst the Turks, but which he punished on several occasions by throwing the offenders headlong from the tops of the highest minarets.

Under SOLYMAN, however, commonly called Old Solyman, and the father of the unfortunate Sayud Pasha, whose catastrophe we shall relate hereafter ; the authority of the Pasha, gradually strengthened in its origin by the tolerance of the custom, and the certainty of a confirmation, became self-existent and self-derived. In a long reign, of upwards of twenty years, old Solyman ultimately obtained an ascendancy, by the vigour and ability of his policy, which reduced the falling influence of the Porte to its lowest ebb. Inflexible and severe in his disposition, he established the most perfect order in his dominions ; equally curbed the insolence of the nobles and the Janizaries within the town, and restrained the depredations of the Arabs and the Koords from without by the vigour of his sway. He left at his death the influence of an established character, a long train of dependants devoted to the interests of his family, and a numerous though infant progeny, to transmit the honours of his reputation, and to inherit the power he had obtained.

Solyman was succeeded by ALY, one of his officers, his sons being yet too young to assume the reins of government ; but as Aly was shortly after assassinated by a Georgian slave, whilst at morning prayers in the mosque ; his son-in-law, LITTLE SOLYMAN, who had married his eldest daughter, contrived to secure a nomination that was immediately confirmed. The fall of Aly was generally attributed to motives of revenge for some insult or disappointment.

the Georgian had experienced: from that time, however, the Pashas have invariably abstained from attending morning prayers at the mosque. The Georgian had availed himself of the opportunity, when the Pasha laid his arms aside in compliance with the uniform practice of all Mahometans, who are forbidden to pray whilst adorned with those costly ornaments which commonly enrich their daggers and their swords: the Turks, however, seldom reason far beyond the first perception of a danger that is known. Aly fell whilst attending *morning* prayers at the mosque; and his successors esteem it sufficient wisdom to abstain from the practice, without ever surmising at the necessity of precautions at any other time, or the possibility of the like event during the mid-day or evening services.

Personally brave as are the Turkish officers in general, Little Solyman was not a prince of abilities: he ruled, indeed, through the influence of his wife and her family, a daughter, as already mentioned, of old Solyman's. He fell in a rash enterprise against one of the Arabian tribes which he had attempted to chastise. It is the misfortune of those who marry women of superior rank in those countries where polygamy is practised, that they are little better than the favourite slave in the palace where they should preside; the lady retaining the whole of her fortune in her own hands, and generally contriving to support her own paramount influence, or to rid herself of the favourite, if he proves rebellious to her will. In this respect, we have entirely mistaken the condition of women in these despotic climes; as they are slaves only where an original inferiority of rank or intellect has made them so; — a condition which is pretty much the same, I rather think, in the greater part of those countries we are acquainted with. It may indeed be true, that the seclusion of their lives in Turkey will generally turn the scale in favour of lordly man; but where the reverse happens, it is certain, that the unnatural subjection which the husband is doomed to experience will fully balance the great account.

Solyman, like two of his predecessors, was not allowed the benefit of the law, and was obliged to confine himself to his imperious help-mate: as he left no children, therefore, by this unequal connection,

he was at his death succeeded by ABDOOLA, surnamed the Good. Conspicuous, as the name implies, for the amiable qualities of his heart, Abdoola was too virtuous to reign in tranquillity over so degenerate a race. It is entirely unsafe, in these lawless climes, for any man who is decked with authority to be humane or generous, forgiving towards his foes, or confiding with his friends. Abdoola's aversion to severity proved the occasion of his disgrace. His subjects could only be ruled with a rod of iron; and as he attempted to reform the vices of the state, though his impartial justice was tempered with humanity, he became the victim of his worth, and of the depravity of the times. He was abandoned by his army, whilst engaged in a campaign against the Montifics; and his head being immediately struck off, Sayud Pasha succeeded in his stead.

The eldest son of a man whose influence had survived his natural life; and the brother-in-law of Little Solyman, SAYUD PASHA assumed the reins of government at the general call of the community, and with the smiling prospect of a tranquil reign. In the flower of his youth, extremely popular in his manners, and equally unassuming and gentle in private life, it was entirely forgotten that these very qualities had contributed to the fall of the good Abdoola. He came into office the darling of the multitude: he was fated to experience, like many others of his predecessors, the fickleness of their attachment. We have already observed, that it was the custom of the times to *confirm* the power which was already secured. Approved in his authority by an Imperial Firman, it was amongst the first acts of his administration to load his relatives and friends with every favour he had it in his power to bestow. Profusely generous in his disposition, and careless of the morrow, he scarcely left himself any thing to grant. Indolent and fond of ease, he resigned the management of affairs entirely into the hands of his ministers and favourites; and as these, in general, were as inexperienced in business as himself, and equally fond of the enjoyments of unlimited authority; it may be surmised, that the most important concerns were soon forgotten in the pursuit of pleasure, and the soft allurements of eastern luxury. His most zealous par-

tisans, in fact, became apprised of his incapacity and total unfitness to preserve order in the Pashalik, almost from the hour that he had ceased to be a private man. His extreme youth, indeed, was often urged as an excuse ; but, after a reign of near six years, it became sufficiently apparent, that he was not one of those characters whom age or experience can improve.

The influence of his family, however, with the memory of his great father's fame, and his own popular demeanour, still supported him in the possession, notwithstanding the disorders that prevailed ; when, unhappily for himself, a competitor stepped forth in the very individual, who should, in honour, have proved the bulwark of his strength. Purchased as a slave, but brought up with the advantages of a learned education, Daood Effendi was promoted by old Solyman to offices of the highest trust, and was even honoured with his daughter's hand. He stood, therefore, in the relation of a brother to the unfortunate Sayud ; and had, in fact, received numberless favours at his hands ; on some slight disgust, however, he fled the city, and retired to the capital, where he immediately began intriguing to destroy that strength which had been the source of his own dignities, and endeavoured to obtain his own appointment to the Pashalik.

We have brought down this little history of Bagdad very nearly to the period of our arrival there, Daood Effendi having left the place only a few months before. We shall reserve the narrative of those events which are connected with his return for the ensuing chapter, as appertaining more immediately to our relation of the occurrences of the siege, and the state of the country, at the time we visited Bagdad. Fifty-eight pashas in about thrice as many years, and the greater number of these terminating their reign and their existence at once by a violent catastrophe ! it is not a dignity, we might suppose, that is very generally coveted. Quite the contrary : — such is the lust of dominion and authority, that there are frequently more competitors than vacancies ; whilst the aspiring candidate boldly strides across the headless trunk of his predecessor to reach this dangerous eminence.

## CHAPTER VIII.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS. — OCCURRENCES AT BAGDAD DURING OUR STAY. — PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE. — DEPOSITION AND DEATH OF SAYUD PASHA. — OUR INTRODUCTION TO DAOOD EFFENDI. — DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY, GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTES, &c. &c.

IN the preceding chapter, we have attempted that cursory review of the history of this great city, which was necessary to elucidate the form of its present government, and to explain the nature of those frequent revolutions in the various pashaliks of the Ottoman empire, which it was our fate in *the present instance* personally to observe. The subject was indeed deserving of more accurate information, and more extended lights, than we could possibly obtain; inasmuch as it tends to illustrate the condition of man under an arbitrary government, and the natural consequences of a despotic sway. The very quality of the attempt, however, in its imperfections, should carry its excuse along with it. Under the paralyzing influence of a tyrant's frown, the pen of the historian withers in his grasp; the man of genius leads a life of obscurity; or if exalted to temporary celebrity, he rises only to afford the moral we should derive from the transitory nature of the enjoyments of this life. An original want of information, therefore, certainly exists; and if our labours have not been as successful as we might have hoped, in obtaining the best that could be procured, the indulgent reader will the more readily overlook the imperfections that may be traced, from the recollection of the very peculiar circumstances that attended the period of our residence at Bagdad; circumstances that were of themselves calculated, in the general convulsions of the moment, to deprive the traveller of every source of local and oral information he might otherwise have sought.

Under a despotic government, we must chiefly appeal to facts for the just illustration of that degree of influence which the sovereign may exert. That the Grand Seignior, according to the constitutions of the Turkish empire, (if the expression may be used,) has an undoubted right to the appointment of governors in the various Pashaliks, is, I believe, indisputable. The exact nature of this power, however, as exerted in the present day, cannot better be explained, than by comparing the existing authority of the Imperial Firman, with the uncertain weight which usually attended the issuing of the papal bulls at that period of our own history, when their authority had already been canvassed and frequently denied. In the present, as in the former case, the authority of the instrument is acknowledged and obeyed, rejected and contemned, according to existing circumstances, and the personal character and situation of the individual, against whom its powers are intended to operate: If he be loyal and obedient, or weak and unpopular, it is usually respected and obeyed. If the reverse, it is neglected and evaded, though never perhaps absolutely denied; its weight and authority depending less on the personal character of the sovereign, than on that of the subordinate against whom it is directed. It is, as the former was, almighty against the weak; but impotent against the powerful. And the only difference in its effects, which could, and can perhaps depend on the personal character of the sovereign, will be found in that politic and prudent discrimination of times, persons, and circumstances, which should ever direct the dangerous exercise of this uncertain power, which frequently recoils against the throne itself. If properly exerted against the weak, it may in time obtain a temporary degree of influence against the powerful. If idly brandished at superior might, it falls of itself into general contempt. There is, in either case, this further characteristic similarity, in the power we have attempted to describe, that in the former as in the present instance, the superior authority stands almost neutral between the contending chiefs; being equally pre-



pared to appoint, to approve, and to confirm, or to retract and tolerate, as the event may justify.

The family of old Solyman had gradually obtained an influence which the Sublime Porte could only view with an eye of jealousy. Five different pashas had succeeded each other, with no greater formality in the acknowledgment of superior authority, than a bare and tardy consent to the dignity they had previously assumed might be supposed to involve. The moment, however, had arrived for the vigorous exertion of those powers that had lain dormant, but had never been relinquished. It was seized with equal vigour and ability by Mahomed Hagenau, the reigning prince, who immediately issued a firman for the appointment of Daood Effendi; leaving it to himself to support the nomination in the best way he could.

In these climes, the affair is not so entirely hopeless as in our better regulated states; a pretence is all that is usually wanting for calling men to arms; and the fugitive of the day may prove the hero of the morrow. Thus it was with Daood Effendi, who collected an army of twelve thousand men in the neighbouring Pashaliks as he advanced to the attack. He had the Grand Seignior's firman, it is true, commanding a general support of his cause: it must be clearly understood, however, that this high command might have proved of slight avail, had not the order suited with the inclinations and policy of the times.

On our arrival at Bagdad, the victory just obtained by Sayud Pasha, the son of old Solyman, and coming from which we had met the Arabs on their return\*, might naturally have induced the belief, that an authority grounded on present possession and success, on the influence of his family and the support of the most powerful tribes, might have been esteemed secure and permanent. There were causes, however, that were of themselves sufficient to check, in the rising expectation, the full-blown assurance of permanent tranquillity. Sayud Pasha had certainly a very powerful party for his support;

\* Vide Chap IV. p. 82.

but his personal character was even more than suspected, as equally wanting in manly daring and political resolution. He had for once chosen a minister of acknowledged talents and influence; but his fidelity, at the best, was extremely problematical. Daood Effendi, it may be added, had been repulsed; but the victorious Arabs themselves had been obliged to fall back to the wilderness for want of pasturage. Last, and perhaps not least, in its influence, where every cause apparently combined towards the acknowledgment of its authority, Daood Effendi was provided with the Imperial Firman for his own appointment and the immediate removal of the unfortunate Pasha.

For some days, however, after our arrival, and after the retreat of Daood Effendi's Koords, a very unusual degree of tranquillity prevailed. The gates of the city which had been built up, were again thrown open for the convenience of receiving supplies from the environs; and the chiefs in general, uncertain of the course they should pursue in this very unexpected issue of the contest, appeared sufficiently inclined to pay their court to the brighter hopes of the youthful Sayud. The Pasha himself, equally mild and unassuming in his character, made no further use of the success obtained by his Arab confederates, than to relapse into the perfect ease of habitual indolence, and to collect those pecuniary supplies from the purses of his principal officers and the richest individuals of the city, which are usually exacted on all occasions of emergency. On our part, during this peaceful interval, we either employed our mornings in paying visits of congratulations to the various officers of state on their appointments; or hunted with Koordish hounds of the highest breed, visited the city and its environs, and spent our evenings in the harmless pleasures of social intercourse. Nothing, in fact, remained to remind us of the late contest, and of those bloody frays that had been fought the week before under our walls, except uncertain rumours of impending harm, a quicker succession of removals and appointments amongst the officers of state, and, now and then, a

cautious whisper of Daood Effendi's increasing strength and near return.

Feeling but little interest in the issue, we awaited the event with real Turkish apathy ; when, very suddenly, an important change was evidently effected in the posture of affairs. Sayud Pasha's necessities, it seems, had impelled him to exactions and severities that had been totally unexpected from the mild and generous character he had hitherto maintained. His weakness and indecision, in yielding to the slightest symptom of resistance, had equally emboldened his enemies, and disheartened those firmer adherents, who perceived the absolute necessity of collecting means for the renewal of the contest. The star of his prosperity, in truth, was on the decline ; and the hour was fast approaching, when he must exchange the indulgences of unlimited power, and the soft allurements of the harem, for a noisome dungeon, and, perhaps, for death. Daood Effendi, the exalted slave of his great father, had also been honoured with his sister's hand ; but, in these despotic governments the ties of blood are not always respected ; and the child himself sometimes falls a sacrifice to the parent's hate ; whilst brothers war against brothers, and plead their own security in justification of the unnatural murder of their nearest relatives.

On the 12th and 13th the report reached us, that several leading men had privately withdrawn themselves from the city ; on the 14th Sayud Pasha, having attempted to seize a personage of some importance, to oblige him to disgorge a part of his ill-gotten wealth, the fellow fortified his house, and openly proclaimed his adherence to Daood Effendi's cause. On the 15th, the discontented having acquired confidence, from the want of decision evinced by the unfortunate Sayud, were in open rebellion, and in possession of the Shaik, the most considerable quarter of the town.\* Every thing now bore the aspect of an approaching catastrophe : the desertions were in-

\* So called from its containing the tomb and mosque, with a convent or takie attached to it, of Shaik Abdulkadir, a very celebrated Mahomedan saint, who was born in the 560th year of the Hegyra, and lived to the age of 91 ; performing numerous miracles.

creasing; Jassen Bey, the Pasha's brother, whom he had loaded with every favour and kindness in his power, being amongst the first to forsake him for his enemy. Several skirmishes had already taken place in the town itself, and from the lofty battlements of the British residency we could often view the combatants. The present was a moment that should have called forth the most resolute exertions. The unfortunate Sayud was still acknowledged by a considerable party, and in possession of the seroy and of the citadel that commands the city. He was repeatedly advised to open his guns on the quarter occupied by the insurgents, and a very few shot at this period from the only serviceable guns in the town might certainly have decided the contest immediately. Unhappily, however, for himself, he was still irresolute, and employed his faithful Asgailees\* in trivial skirmishes, and in fruitless attempts to seize the leaders of the revolt.

These Arab mercenaries were equally brave and faithful to his cause: they were totally uninstructed, however, in that species of attack in which he employed them. Every house was now shut up, the gates of the residency itself being closed, and our sepoy constantly under arms; whilst every defensible building being in the same manner barricaded and manned, the owners denied admittance to friend and foe with equal obstinacy. The city presented one general aspect of terror, confusion, and party broils. Here a party could be seen rushing on to the attack with the lofty shout of confidence; or retreating in dismay at the first appearance of an enemy. Further on, the mournful war-song of the Asgailees could be heard as they advanced to the storm. The principal officers of the Pashalik could be seen alternately leading on their dependants, or

\* We have not perhaps given this word its true pronounciation, as the Arabic scholar will perceive: these troops, however, are Arab mercenaries, chiefly, I believe, from the neighbourhood of Garem in the Persian Gulf. Like our Indian Rajapoots, they engage themselves indifferently in small bands, or singly, to any one that will employ them. It is their first principle to be faithful to their employer; but as soon as they are discharged, or their master falls, they esteem it no disgrace to enter the service of the enemy. At Bagdad they are commanded by one of their own Shaiks, usually selected by the Pasha, and are the best and most faithful troops he has.

retreating desponding and alone from the unequal strife. They were continually passing under our windows, with fury and vengeance in their looks, brandishing their cimeters aloft, and seeking their enemies, or slowly retiring, with those few faithful friends who still adhered to them; casting up many a wistful imploring look as they went by to the comparative safety of our guarded walls. Several indeed had obtained admittance in the beginning of the fray: they had cast themselves on the protection of our flag\*, and no entreaties, no consideration of the dangers they might entail on their generous protector and his family, could induce them to return. They were amongst us, they said, and had come to die with us; they felt, in short, that with our sixty gallant faithful sepoys, we could have defied the whole city for a considerable time; and were unwilling or unable to throw themselves on a less assured protection.

For five successive days, this great city presented the same aspect of barbarous strife, confusion, and dismay; day and night the sabre gleamed aloft, and the rolling of musketry could be heard; whilst now and then, at distant intervals, the more imposing deadly sound of their artillery broke through the general confusion of the scene, and was commonly followed by a momentary awful pause. It seemed, indeed, as if the loud reports of these powerful engines of destruction were each esteemed the harbinger of fate; the use of artillery being so uncommon, that each sudden flash was observed with fearful anxiety as the certain signal of some decisive catastrophe.

Sayud Pasha, in utter despair, now sanctioned the advance of his Asgailees to the general attack of the quarter occupied

\* How very different is this from the condition of our consuls in other Mahomedan countries. At Bagdad, the British residency was the only place of security in the midst of strife; and was the place accordingly where the merchants had deposited all their riches. At Tripoli or Algiers, its known wealth would certainly have induced an attack. Whence is this difference? from the different policy we observe towards these assuming barbarians: in the East, the "*oderint dum metuant*" is the rule of our sway; and if we are not always loved, we are at least feared and respected.

by the insurgents: but the moment had gone by for the adoption of this decisive course; and Daood Effendi was now approaching the city walls with recruited numbers, and a perfect confidence of success. Those timid chiefs, who had so lately sought the protection of our walls, were now anxious to depart to head their dependants. In a few hours of weakness and imbecility, that great contest had been decided, which had been maintained for the six preceding months. It had been marked by unexpected successes, and by exertions that had not been anticipated. As the cause of Sayud Pasha, however, had risen to a momentary prosperity from adventitious causes, so it was destined to fall by means that are almost inexplicable. His Arabs and their chief were undoubtedly devoted to his cause: but on this occasion, the commandant of the Asgailees declared, he could not be answerable for the disorders and confusion that might attend the assault; and the order was withdrawn. This last and convincing proof of weakness and imbecility was the immediate forerunner of every ill, and of absolute defeat. In a few hours, the Georgian slaves in the seroy rose up in a body against their falling chief; the arrival of Daood Effendi within a day's march was proclaimed throughout the town; the Pasha was forced to retreat to the citadel; whilst the Georgians, to complete their deservings at fortune's hands, destroyed the bridge over the river, to prevent the Asgailees from throwing themselves into this strong hold to share their master's fate.

The contest was now evidently over: Sayud Pasha had only four hundred Arabs with him in the castle, but no provisions whatever, though a stock might easily have been obtained. The greater part of the city was in possession of the insurgents, and on the 20th Daood Effendi made his triumphant entry, and summoned the citadel. It was yet unsafe, generally speaking, to venture abroad, as a few desperate partisans still held out in various quarters; and the advance, with the new Pasha, was far too weak to restore order, as long as the citadel held out. On the western side of the river, also, a considerable body of Asgailees still remained in arms, though de-

serted by their chief, who had meanly fled. Daood Effendi, however, sent his compliments to the resident, notifying his arrival officially, and informing him that order was restored.

The city now presented the very unusual aspect of two rival chiefs, each enjoying with his own party the honours of the robe: it was, however, a nominal dignity only that the unfortunate Sayud was vested with. On former occasions, the contest had generally been terminated by the fall of the unsuccessful candidate, as soon as possession of the city had been obtained. In the present instance, a sudden exertion might yet have forced a more fortunate issue, had Sayud Pasha been faithful to himself, or blessed with a single resolute adviser of sufficient influence to direct his course. He had only four hundred men with him in the citadel, but these generous Arabs were faithful to his cause, and equal in numbers to the only troops Daood Effendi had brought with him in the rapid advance he had made. The citadel was unprovided with provisions, but fully supplied with guns, powder, and ammunition of every kind. At any rate, the Tigris might have been crossed on rafts during the night; and with a numerous body of determined friends who still lingered in the western part of the city, he had the desert and his faithful Montifics.

Fully aware, it would appear, of these resources, the crafty Daood still lingered in the fulfilment of his threats. He daily summoned the castle to surrender, vaunting in his strength, and boasting his success, but he still delayed the assault. He ordered the remainder of his army to advance, but he thanked the Georgian officers publicly for having spared the unfortunate Sayud's life. He kept a strict watch around him, but he allowed his mother, and supplies of every kind, to be introduced to the citadel. Sayud Pasha, he said, was the son of his great master, whose slave he was: he was the brother of the wife this kind master had bestowed on him. He was a foolish headstrong youth, misled by evil counsellors, who were more culpable than himself in the resistance, and should alone bear the blame and punishment. As for the Pasha, (for he still affected to speak of him

as such,) he should be sent in safety to Aleppo as soon as he became sensible of the folly of holding out. By these and similar arts, he at length prevailed on the unfortunate Pasha to listen to an accommodation; and his faithful Asgailees were ordered to withdraw from the garrison.

Surrounded by enemies on every side, and deserted by their chief who had retired in despair to the most obscure corner of the citadel, this faithful determined band refused to yield. They must march out with their arms, they said, and a Koran \* must be sent in, as a testimony of the conqueror's sincerity; or they would blow up the magazine with the city and themselves. Their resolute fidelity had been proved, and they were judged capable of the act; the terms they had demanded were therefore granted them; the safety of their chief was promised with deceitful professions; and they were allowed to retire in triumph with their arms. The scene had closed. On the 24th, on the very night of their retreat, Sayid Allowee, the new Janizary Aga, with three attendants, silently presented the Signet of authority at the gates of the citadel. It was understood, and the guards withdrew. He was closely muffled up in the long black Abbas which the Arabs wear, but could be known by his commanding height, and the deadly revengeful gleam of an eye that *seemed to scorn* the concealment he observed. † On demanding admittance at the door of the private apartments into which the unfortunate youth had retired, his anxious mother, (foreboding ill,) fearfully unbarred the entrance. She would have asked the purpose of their intrusion, but the hour, and the presence of the revengeful Sayid, had already told the fatal truth. Whilst the mother clung

\* This is commonly esteemed the strongest proof of his sincerity a Mussulman can afford; he swears the oath on the sacred book, which is then sent in, to bear witness against him if he fails in the fulfilment of his promises.

† There were circumstances of wanton barbarity in this act, which will perhaps stagger a general belief; we have reported particulars, however, exactly as they were known and spoken of at the time: and it must be recollected, that Sayid Allowee, the chief actor in these scenes of blood, had just returned from exile, with some real, and more *fancied* injuries to revenge.



around her devoted son, in distracted agony, shrieking and imploring mercy at those hands that had never felt the soft impulse of humanity, their victim was struck down with a battle-axe ; and a headless trunk alone remained in the parent's arms.

It was not until the next morning that we were informed of this lamentable catastrophe ; and it was then announced to us, on our rising, with perfect indifference, as amongst the news our attendants had collected since the preceding day. Sayud Hassan Pasha, the eldest surviving son of old Solyman, was only twenty-three at the time he fell. Guiltless of a crime that had been perpetrated under the sanction of his name, he personally atoned for the murder of the good Abdoolla. His mild unassuming character should have secured him from so harsh a fate ; and his open handed liberality, towards his friends and relatives, should have assured him a more firm support. On the dangerous eminence, however, he had attained, it was scarcely safe to be mild or generous. It was the constant, and almost the only reproach of his ungrateful countrymen, that he had not the resolution to condemn ; and amongst those who worked his ruin, there were several, I believe, who owed their lives to his humanity ; their fortunes and dignities, to the generous confidence he reposed in their fidelity. Jassen Bey, (his own brother,) who had forsaken him in the moment of his adversity, had been amongst the first to benefit by the profusion of his gifts. The new Pasha himself, had received the greatest and most important favours from his father and himself ; and might at least have respected the life that had been the source of his own dignities. He fell, the victim of his own aversion to shedding blood : within a week after I had seen him in the full enjoyment of youth and unlimited authority, his body was a mishapen trunk ; and we carried off his head to be exposed in derision before the palace gates of his offended sovereign.

The death of Sayud Pasha was the signal for a general change in the various offices of the state ; and we prepared, with due formality, for our first visit of ceremony to his successor. On the 26th, the day appointed for this high solemnity, our numbers being duly

marshalled forth, we left the residency at noon, preceded by the drums and fifes of the detachment. We had six mounted chochradars in front, with a number of attendants on foot to clear the way; next, a party of Bombay Sepoys, the resident, his first assistant, his secretary, and myself; all in full costume, and gallantly mounted; whilst our rear was closed by the remainder of the detachment, a number of attendants, and all the rabble of Bagdad to share the sight. As we had both the relieving detachments, our party was full a hundred strong, and such a show perhaps had never been exhibited before. In this order we proceeded through the principal streets to the seroy, the whole of the town being out to view our state; whilst we could perceive many a curious glance shot forth at the Faringees and their infidel attendants, from behind those envious veils and more provoking lattices, which doubtless concealed many a beauteous face, and, perhaps, an equal proportion of ugliness and deformity. The last, however, as the bright flash reached us across the street, we could only allow as *barely* possible; the first we felt, or came prepared to fancy, in the killing lustre of those eyes that seemed to scorn the gloom which enfolded the more attractive graces of their sex. These ladies, in truth, appear fully aware, of the power of those charms which are felt — not seen.

When we reached the seroy, we found every thing prepared for our reception: a countless multitude was assembled in the outer court, but a number of janizaries preserved order amongst them by dint of blows, and formed a lane from gate to gate. We dismounted in this outer court, receiving the usual compliment from our guard, with an extra ruffle from the drummers in their newest style; — a courtesy, however, that had nearly proved fatal to a gentleman far more eminent for his learning in the languages, than for his horsemanship\*; and

\* If ever Seignior Balino should read these sheets, I trust he will excuse this cut at his equestrian powers; since it gives me the opportunity of mentioning what his modesty might otherwise have concealed; — that at 21, he has not only gone through the usual course of a college education in the German universities, but has also acquired four of the European languages, with a considerable knowledge in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic.

who barely escaped a very unpleasant accident, from the violence of the horse I rode. We entered the inner court through a wicket, so very low as to oblige the proudest head of the shortest man amongst us to bow nearly to the ground; and were presented with the sight of about 300 Georgian slaves in attendance, drawn up in irregular files on either side of our way to the presence chamber. The greater part of these were equally remarkable for the sumptuousness of their dress, and the beauty and comeliness of their persons; and seemed in truth to feel a pride in the gorgeous trappings of their state. They were all armed after their own manner with Turkish cimeters, pistols, matchlocks, and the battle-axe; and observed a respectful silence as we passed, though without offering our party any particular compliment. The three horse-tails that mark his rank, with a Turkish flag, were stuck in the ground by the side of the immediate entrance to the Pasha's audience chamber. Our names were announced, and we were ushered into a convenient apartment, where the Pasha sat reclining on silk and velvet cushions, with the Divan of the pashalik seated on his right hand, in the silent, grave observance of the most perfect decorum. The chief himself acknowledged our presence with a slight inclination of the body, as if preparing to rise, and renewed the compliment as we were severally introduced. Chairs had been provided for us, and arranged on the Pasha's left, and opposite his Divan: after being seated, we were served with coffee, whilst his excellency conversed with Mr. Rich and Dr. Hine, whom he had been previously acquainted with. There was little in his appearance, to speak the truth; that could denote the savage, unfeeling murderer of his nearest relative; or justify the various accounts we had heard of his unrelenting severity. He bore himself as a man of the middle size, and of plain, unaffected manners; about forty, as I should have thought, had I not been previously informed he was at least fifty; and was indebted to an artificial colouring for the glossy and perfect black of his regular, manly beard. The members of his Divan appeared, in general, something older than himself; though there were a few amongst them who seemed not to disdain the venerable snow white attributes of a good old age. Our friend Derwesh Aga, one of the late inmates of the

residency, was by far the most respectable figure of them all; and seemed, with the rest, tolerably well satisfied at the return of peace; as he frequently whispered his assent, with a placid smile, to the few observations that were made; it being against the etiquette of the court, for any one to take a greater share in the conversation, than merely answering the questions they are honoured with. I was afterwards informed, the little that was said was of no importance, being entirely confined to matters of compliment; whilst business was prudently reserved for a more private conference.

On taking leave, we retired with the like formalities through the gates we had entered by; and mounting our horses, proceeded to the *kaija's*, or minister's, to offer our congratulations on his appointment. The ceremonies of our reception, on this occasion, were nearly the same as before; except that, being on an equality, we were presented with pipes as well as coffee, and with sweet-meats and perfumes on retiring. The remainder of the great officers of state we reserved for the following day; and counting those displaced statesmen I had known the week before, I had within a fortnight been introduced to two ministers, three commanders of the forces, and to secretaries of state, and inferior officers, a countless multitude. On these occasions, as before these changes, we paid our respects as a thing of course; and were received with all the stillness and grave taciturnity of the most perfect tranquillity. Their new honours seemed to sit extremely light on the shoulders of these mighty personages. And, whilst they spoke and bowed to the congratulations that were offered them, they scarcely deigned to mention the occurrences that had so lately taken place. It might perhaps have been descending from their high dignities, to venture a single observation on the uncertain tenure of those important offices they had attained; I could not help fancying, however, this was chiefly the effect of a characteristic apathy.

Sayid Allowee, the Janizary Aga (or commander in chief), was the only one, I believe, who mentioned the subject to Mr. Rich; and

it was only by *casually noticing* that he had struck off the Pasha's head some nights before by orders from the Porte. On a subsequent occasion, however, this gentleman (who was an Arab, lively, enterprising, and communicative, the life and soul of the party he had embraced), informed us of some particulars relative to the army he had commanded, which we were not previously acquainted with. He was under personal obligations to Mr. Rich during the period of his exile and adversity, and spoke apparently without reserve. The defeat of the advance, under his own personal command, we now found had been most complete: with about eight hundred men bivouacking under the guns of the citadel, he had been attacked by one thousand five hundred of the Montifics: and so completely surprised that, being unsupported, the whole of his men had fled.\* The panic, it seems had been so great, and so generally communicated, that the whole army took to flight on the bare report of the defeat; the fugitives from the advance being so thoroughly frightened, and so anxious to hide the shame of the disaster they had experienced, as to spread the most exaggerated accounts of the force they had encountered, and the numbers they had lost. The Pasha himself, he said, had been left on the ground without a single attendant; and might have been killed or carried off, if the Montifics had only profited by this first success.

The authority of the Pasha being now established, it was in the natural course of things, that the principal nobles who had filled the great offices under his predecessor should be called to a severe account. Under a despotic government, authority, (if the comparison may be allowed,) is not unlike a sponge that sucks up the moisture and the overflowings of transient prosperity, to be again compressed by the strong hand of superior power into the general treasury of the state: every man that is employed, makes the most he can of his appointment; and secures his utmost before

\* This was the action which the Arabian army we had met in the desert had spoken of with so much pride; and which had obliged Daood Effendi for a time to raise the siege, and to retreat towards the north.

hand from the wreck he feels conscious he still floats on even in the full tide of his prosperity.

The extreme moderation of Daood Effendi's conduct, and the liberality of his professions, had not deceived those who were acquainted with the severe unrelenting character of this chief. The death of the unfortunate Sayud had been foreseen, notwithstanding his relationship, and the little danger that could have been apprehended from the natural weakness and timidity of his character. Professions however cost nothing, and commonly re-assure the minds of men; a *wanton* breach of a *voluntary* promise, in the full enjoyment of unlimited authority, appearing, it would seem, *so unnecessary*, as seldom to be suspected. Promises accordingly, and professions, were not spared in the present instance, to restore the public tranquillity and general confidence: his victims indeed, might otherwise have escaped from the rude grasp of his rapacity. Scarcely however had the remainder of his troops arrived, when the principal nobles of the former court were called upon to furnish their proportions of the immense sums that were required to satisfy the present exigences of the state, the demands of the army, and the usual remittance which the Capagee Bashee was expected to take back.

With several others, the chief favourite of the unfortunate Sayud was immediately incarcerated; the husband of his sister, the widow \* of little Solyman, a lady of the first rank and influence, as

\* We have had occasion to notice several instances, whereing a state of servitude had proved an introduction to the highest offices of the state; on the present occasion, the transition had been even more sudden than is commonly the case. When little Solyman Pasha died, it had been thought necessary, or perhaps the lady had felt it so, that a new husband should be provided to comfort her in her widowhood: there was no one immediately at hand that was thought deserving of this honour, or perhaps that could suit the lady's taste. Daood Effendi had been refused. The gentleman therefore alluded to, a handsome Georgian in the prime of life, had been appointed to this honour, and purchased in Constantinople at a considerable expense. From a slave, he had become the brother, and son-in-law, of Pashas of the first order; within the year, he was a wretched prisoner, devoted to a dungeon and the most horrible torments, to oblige his wife to purchase his release.

the wife, daughter, and sister of three different Pashas, and who had formerly refused Daood Effendi's hand, was also immediately confined; whilst threats, tortures, and punishments, at once became the order of the day. The unfortunate prisoners, however, knew the fate that awaited them, as soon as their private hoards should have been disclosed; and obstinately refused the avowal. Our lives, they said to their tormentors, are in the hands of your employer; take them! or let him release us for a sum that shall be paid as soon as our safety is assured: a partial compliance, will only encrease the measure of our sufferings; and the entire resignation of our wealth, will be the immediate prelude of our death. It is thus that where the designs of ambition are known, it frequently defeats its own purposes. The captives were inflexible, the Pasha was equally resolute; money indeed must of force be found for his various necessities; and the death of his prisoners could not have obtained this end, as their property was concealed or in other hands.

The third person of the Ulema, however, was still at large; and, secure in the scantiness of his stores, and the insignificance of his character, was entirely unsuspecting of the dangers that awaited him. He was suddenly called to the presence of his new master; he went to the seroy with cheerfulness and alacrity. He met some friends on his way, and told them of the honours and promotion which he thought awaited him. He was received at the gates, with smiles of welcome; conducted to a private apartment near the stables; and had his head struck off.\* After such an example of severity, it

\* This was one of the heads we carried down to Constantinople, but the same events are frequently attributed to far different causes; and there were many who scrupled not to assert, he owed his death to the same hidden influence that had worked its share in Sayud Pasha's fall; the enmity of Hallut Effendi, a favourite of the Grand Seignior's, who had requested his head might be struck off.

The intrigues of a Pasha's court are frequently involved in such a maze of darkness and intricacy, as to be extremely difficult to understand. We have related events as they were known, and have pointed out those great and leading causes, which these had generally been supposed to rest upon: it is equally certain, however, that but for an underplot in the great drama, Sayud Pasha might have continued in the full enjoyment

may be guessed the desires of the Pasha were no longer obstinately denied. The sensation it occasioned, was indeed equally general and wonderful, considering it was only the second example made for this great rebellion. Worn out with their sufferings, and only anxious to accelerate their release from torture by an immediate death, the prisoners immediately complied with the various demands that were made of them. I remained not at Bagdad a sufficient time to ascertain their respective fates; the great object however had been accomplished, and a considerable sum having been raised, a dispatch was prepared to accompany the heads.

The period of my residence at Bagdad had been short, but it had been marked by great events, and by one of those sudden revolutions that can best mark the character of despotic states, and the condition of the subject under the influence of an unlimited authority. The hour of my departure was now at hand: before I leave a city, however, of so much celebrity, I cannot better employ my time, than

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of all his dignities, notwithstanding the jealousy of the Sublime Porte. We shall relate facts, that shall elucidate the nature of these revolutions, as obligingly communicated on the spot. Great events frequently depend on circumstances of very inferior consequence. The Jew banker of Hallut Effendi at Constantinople, had had occasion, it seems, about a year before, to send a relation to Bagdad on some commercial affairs of importance. Proud of the influence and wealth of his relative, this man, it would appear, had presumed to interfere in the affairs of the Pashalik, in such a manner as to excite the anger of Sayud Pasha or his ministers; who, unconscious of the danger, (Jews being commonly held in great contempt), had thrown him into prison and punished him with severity.

On his release and return to the capital, his cause was taken up by the favourite, who felt highly indignant that a person under his immediate protection should have been thus treated. He vowed the fall of the unfortunate Pasha, who had already offended him by refusing him the head of the wretched wight whose death we have already related. The flogging of a Jew for once became the cause of a Pasha's fall; as when Daood Effendi took refuge in the capital, and began his intrigues for the Pashalik, he immediately found a friend in the offended favourite: the rest is known. As soon as the opportunity presented itself, Hallut Effendi pursued his great revenge; obtained the firman for Daood Effendi's appointment by his influence, and made the death of the **Mufti** the condition of his protection. If facts like these are common, and I believe it is not the first instance of the kind, this seemingly oppressed and suffering race have not so much reason to complain as may generally be supposed; their intrigues and management commonly supplying the place of strength.



by devoting the remaining pages of the present chapter to the description of its actual state after the various changes and misfortunes it has undergone.

We have already noticed the period of its foundation, and the derivation of its name: in its present state, (as we have had frequent opportunities of ascertaining by riding round the walls,) it may occupy a space of about seven miles in circumference, part of which area however lies waste, or is filled up by ruins, as if already verging to its decay. The houses, in general, are built of brick, seldom above two stories high, and with no windows towards the streets, which are extremely narrow, (as in Mahomedan cities in general,) though tolerably clean. There are no public buildings we can enumerate, as remarkable for their architecture, though its vaulted bazars, numerous domes, inlaid with Mosaic of painted tiles, and lofty minarets, certainly present a novel, and, as I must think, a very pleasing appearance to the eye of the traveller. It is divided into several quarters, of which the limits however cannot be exactly described; the Shaik is the principal; the palace and the citadel occupy two others on the eastern shore: the buildings on the western side of the Tigris, being inferior in respect to construction, materials, and extent, so as to appear, on the whole, a suburb only to the town.

When Bagdad was taken from the Persians by Amurat, in 1638, he fortified it entirely round with a thin brick wall forty feet in height, and defended by nine principal bastions on the eastern side, with several inferior turrets and a dry ditch. As defences, however, the whole of these works are scarcely worth the mention, being very badly built; whilst the bastions only are sufficiently spacious to hold artillery of any kind. The scarp, and the counter-scarp of the ditch, are accessible at most of the angles; the gateways unprotected by sufficient traverses; the glacis extremely abrupt, and generally speaking, in a very imperfect state; and the greater part of the guns so honey-combed, and so badly mounted, as to be very nearly unserviceable. Under all these disadvantages, however, it has twice withstood the efforts of the celebrated Nadir Shah, who threw several

hundred shells into it without effect. As there are only twenty guns in the citadel, and about thirty on the walls that are even capable of repairs, (and it is probable their artillery was never in a much more perfect state,) and as we could not well allot above forty-five of these to the nine principal bastions, without leaving the citadel entirely destitute; we might justly wonder at the successful result of this defence, if it were not known, that the besiegers were to the full as unskilful in the use of their artillery as the besieged.

It may be conceived from the preceding details, that Bagdad is not a place in any degree calculated to resist the well-directed efforts of an European force; and it is, fortunately, in a situation where it is not likely to be called upon to exhibit the proof. In the event of a war with Turkey, however, or as the result of hostilities with Russia, in which it might be thought expedient to force the Sublime Porte to bear a share, it is capable of being brought into a secondary degree of importance, as the means of obtaining certain purposes. In the one case it might be attacked, as a vulnerable point; in the other it might be occupied as a station of commanding influence over the councils of the Turkish and the Persian courts; whilst the dread of losing and the hope of acquiring so important an object, would very probably induce either of these powers to declare hostilities against Russia at our call. In either case, we must not judge of the difficulties of the attempt from the ill-success of Nadir Shah; as in those points, wherein a deficiency of knowledge occasioned his repulse, we have certainly acquired a very high degree of theoretical and practical eminence. The natural course of an expedition intended to accomplish these purposes is easily described. Our cruisers can sail up as far as Bussora, which might easily be seized; and it is probable the middle-sized vessels might even ascend as far as Korna, at the junction of the streams; as the Turkish brig we saw there mounted fourteen guns, and was apparently as large as many of our Bombay cruisers.

The possession of Korna, would give us the command of the navigation of the rivers; whilst the distribution of very trivial sums might

secure the neutrality, at least, of the Bedooins. With these advantages a small army might easily reach Bagdad from Korna within the month; whilst our artillery, in the same time, might proceed up the stream in boats of a sufficient size to be formed occasionally as a battery for the reduction of the place. Within this time, most certainly, no very great additional supplies of artillery or ammunition could be collected for the defence; as Mosul, the nearest station from whence the *materiel* could be drawn, is four hundred miles removed, and is under an independent Pasha, who might not think himself obliged to weaken his own strength to assist a rival chief.

With two or three of our brigades, to attack a city containing a population of near two hundred thousand souls, and capable of sending forth an army of thirty thousand men, might certainly appear the height of presumption; it must be recollected, however, that where only a certain number can act, it is in discipline only that confidence should rest. Thirty thousand men from Bagdad could not keep together for a month in the desert, through the want of supplies, unless they could command the navigation of the rivers; an advantage, I believe, we might secure from the very beginning of the attempt. Until they reached Bagdad, therefore, our troops need not have any very serious resistance to apprehend, in a rapid and well concerted advance; as even if the Turks could be brought to believe our temerity reached to this extent, they are not sufficiently assured of the general support, to venture far from the capital on the confidence of fidelity in their Arabian confederates. Scarcely suspicious of the extent of our designs, or awed and confounded at the daring of the attempt, with the constant dread of seeing us openly supported by the wandering tribes, or joined by a faction within the town itself; we may believe it would not be extremely difficult, in the midst of those doubts and jealousies which must arise under these circumstances, to moor our batteries on the river, or to fix them on shore, immediately opposite the citadel.

It is here, however, that the first serious resistance might be expected to be opposed, by an infuriated populace making common

cause with their government against the enemies of their faith ; or, that the feasibility of the attempt might at once appear, by seeing these very people in a state of insurrection against the Pasha and his troops, to preserve their houses and the town from the effect of our artillery. The last is to the full as probable as the first ; the Bagdadees having no hereditary attachments to the reigning chief, or any very violent predilection in favour of the Grand Signior's government. The half of the towns-people, indeed, are of the Sheea sect ; and although religious differences have not run high of late, they have certainly left that degree of reciprocal mistrust of which an enemy might always avail himself. Directing our breaching batteries at the citadel and our shells at the town, or both at the same object, as prior events and the disposition of the inhabitants might justify, it is probable the castle might be gained within the first or second day of the opening of our guns ; as it is not of sufficient extent to derive any advantages from those numbers that might be employed in the defence. Once in possession of the citadel, and commanding the navigation of the rivers, our influence would be secure against every chance but a regular attack, which it would take a very considerable time to organize ; since, notwithstanding the present weakness of its defences, they are capable of such improvements, from the superior skill of our engineers and artillerymen, as might render them extremely formidable to an enemy so entirely unpractised in the labours of a siege and the difficulties of the attack.

We have estimated the population of Bagdad at nearly two hundred thousand souls ; several travellers, in their relations, have almost doubled this amount ; we have given this number, however, on the authority of a gentleman many years a resident in the place ; who also informed us, that the inhabitants were partly Sheeites of Persian descent, or Sunnites of Turkish and Arabian origin, now almost confounded together, under the general appellation of Bagdadees. Besides these, there is a large proportion of Mahomedan foreigners, or the immediate descendants of foreigners, who, though settled in Bagdad,

and often entrusted with the highest offices, are still considered as such ; their first coming being recollected. Of Christians of various sects, we could only learn that there were about one hundred and sixty Roman Catholic families, besides Armenians and Nestorians, in the place. These have each their priests, and form three different congregations, which are constantly wrangling with one another, to the great edification, no doubt, and somewhat to the advantage of his Highness the Pasha, who fails not to mulct both parties in the dispute, whenever the opportunity presents itself. The Jews of Bagdad, as we were informed, have not so many religious broils amongst themselves ; they have, however, to the full as many annoyances from without ; being not only equally despised and contemned, but even more oppressed, from the notions which are entertained of their unbounded wealth. They are here, as elsewhere, the leeches of the state ; but are only allowed to gorge themselves, that they may discharge their ill-gotten pelf again, for the advantage of the Pasha's privy purse. The most mortifying circumstance of the whole, however, is this ; that happen what may to these Israelites, their misfortunes, and utmost wailings, are commonly greeted with derision, as the legitimate subject of a hearty laugh. If a Turk, or even a Christian of any consequence, is plundered by the great officers of state, the event is frequently animadverted on, though privately, according to the circumstances of the case. But when a Jew is the sufferer, it is only mentioned as *a thing of course*, or, perhaps, as the most laughable incident of the day ; their rapacity being so well known, that credit is seldom given them for being reduced to the most absolute penury. The variety of exactions they are subject to under these circumstances is certainly exceedingly wonderful ; especially when we consider the nature of that thrifty disposition which still enables this fallen race to persevere in the great object of their desires, under the manifold disadvantages of their state. When Sayud Pasha had been beheaded, and it became necessary to transmit the usual present to the capital, as the roads were still unsafe for the conveyance of bullion, the Jews were applied to

for bills. The principal bankers amongst them had already exerted themselves to the utmost, in supplying the immediate demands of their great patrons amongst the Turks : their credit with their brethren at the capital was absolutely at a stand. Their real inability to comply, however, was only esteemed a subterfuge : they were closeted with a confidential officer of the Pasha's, and requested to grant their aid. Their credit, they replied, was at an end, even if the money were advanced previous to the granting of the bills : they were obstinate ; the Pasha was necessitous. They were civilly desired to consult, whilst a second officer was appointed to preside at their deliberations. When this officer was also exhausted, through their hardened perseverance, a third was appointed in his stead ; whilst they were kept together without food or drink, under pretence of dispatching business on the spot. For near three days, I believe, the farce was carried on : they were treated with the utmost civility, *but desired to consult* ; and when at last, in utter despair, they granted bills, declaring they were not worth the paper they were written on, the amount was dispatched to the capital. I had at first thought there was nothing easier than the granting bills under circumstances of the kind ; I was informed, however, that the whole of these bills would be made good by a similar process on their arrival : whilst the bankers they were drawn on would be left to indemnify themselves in the best way they could, in the usual course of their mercantile transactions. The money in time might very probably be repaid, as even the Pasha is obliged to observe a tardy honesty for his own advantage ; in the mean-while, however, the credit of the Jew must maintain itself as it can, through the monied influence of the tribe.

The government of Bagdad is in miniature the same with that of the capital of the Turkish empire. In despotic governments, indeed, one general polity seems to pervade the inferior departments of the state ; as if the minds of men were cramped, and incapable of suggesting those more varied forms, which are exhibited in the different quality of those powers that are entrusted to the various authorities

of a limited monarchy. At Bagdad, as at Constantinople, and there as in all the inferior governments, the chief is possessed of an almost unlimited authority over his immediate dependants; and is less accountable to the laws, than to the immediate superior who appoints him, for the just discharge of the duties he is entrusted with. He is assisted in the government by his vizier or minister, under the title of Kaija: has a janizary aga, or commander in chief under him, (who should be appointed by the Porte, but is commonly selected at his request,) his treasurers, and secretaries of state; who, with the members of the Ullema (the Cadi and the Mufti), with those who have been governors of Bussora, Hellah, and Merdin, are commonly admitted to the *Divan*, or council of the Pashalik.

In the *Divan*, as thus described, every affair of importance should be previously discussed; as several of its members, (as the Janizary Aga, the treasurer, and the three seniors of the Ullema,) being constitutionally *supposed* to hold their appointments independently of the Pasha's will, are intended as a check to every assumption of power on his part. Whilst these precautions, however, are rendered of slight avail, by the liberty the Pashas have lately exercised, of recommending or selecting their own creatures for these supervising appointments, the formality of the consultation itself is frequently neglected for a private consideration of the subject with a few favourites, and sometimes with the ladies of the family. Entirely distinct and separate from this great body politic, (in the original design at least,) are those various officers of the household, who are so frequently confounded with the officers of state; and have indeed assumed to themselves a very undue share of their authority. These are, (besides the Kaija, the Janizary Aga, the treasurer, and principal secretary, who at present equally belong to the household and the government,) first, their deputies; next the Harem Kiajasi, or superintendent of the Harem; a master of the ceremonies, a grand equerry, a chief executioner (which is a nominal appointment), with a numerous body guard; from amongst whom the Selikdar or sword-bearer, the Tchakedar Aga or chief of the messengers, the inspector

of the wardrobe, the cup-bearer; the provider of coffee, the chief confectioner, the superintendant of the horse-furniture, the inspector of the tents and carpets, with the governor of the pages, and many other appointments, are usually filled up.

Of the military force of the Pashalik, partly under some of the officers already named, and partly under officers with distinct military titles, it is extremely difficult to speak; for should we confound the janizaries of the place, with the army of the Pasha, we should be exalting half the tinkers, tailors, and cobblers of Bagdad, to those honours they have never merited; though they commonly boast their being inscribed on the list of janizaries, except on those occasions when their services are required in the field. Sayud Pasha, we understood, including his body-guard, had about five thousand men (regularly exercised) in his own immediate pay, (and entirely distinct from his seven thousand Arab confederates,) during the great contest we have already spoken of. Besides these, there were ten thousand janizaries in the town, commanded by officers who should be appointed from Constantinople; and who form the militia of the place, considering themselves exempt from all other services but the defence. Of the remaining twelve or fifteen thousand, who are supposed to complete the number which the strength of the place is commonly rated at, there is scarcely one who is any thing more than *inscribed* on the list of janizaries; whilst they generally follow their own trades, without ever troubling themselves with the duties of their state. The force we have described would thus amount, on the whole, to about fifteen thousand men; whilst it is probable, that on occasions of emergency, and where the will of the chiefs went in conformity with the imperial firman, near forty thousand men might perhaps be raised in the city and its dependent provinces. Of these, however, it must be recollected, there are not above twelve or fifteen thousand at the most, that would be found deserving of the name of soldiers, or that have ever been accustomed to military duties of any kind; the remainder in general being an idle, disorderly rabble, that has been forced into



the service, and might rather hinder than assist their better and more warlike troops.

We have described the ceremonies of our introduction to the Pasha on the occasion of his accession; and stated the extent of the city, and the present amount of its population. On the whole, it may be seen from these notices, how greatly it has fallen off from its former splendour and mighty pre-eminence. It still contains, however, in the variety of manners it presents, as associated with the recollection of its former state, a great deal indeed to attract the attention, and to excite the wonder of the European traveller. The splendour of the Pasha's court is perhaps devoid of those real comforts and pleasing luxuries, that belong to the state of European potentates; the charms of unlimited authority, however, may be distinguished in the ready obedience and obsequious demeanour of his attendants and subordinate officers. He reigns the mere ephemera of the day; but whilst the planet of his fortunes soars in the ascendant, his will is law, and his slightest wishes the mandates of the state: obsequious crowds await his smile, and almost before he has willed, his desires have been accomplished.

In the manner of living and in the habits of the principal inhabitants, we must no longer seek the splendour of that overflowing wealth which the spoil of many nations had accumulated in a great metropolis: we may still discern some remains, however, of that extraordinary magnificence which almost exceeds belief, and has equally raised the wonder and tried the credulity of the reader who has indulged in the visionary scenes of a thousand nights. Haroun al Raschid and the Barmacidees, the caliph and his vizier Giaffar, the beauties of his court, and the gorgeous palaces they inhabited, his great merchants and astrologers lending the wonders of their wealth and art to assist the visions of the scene, have all gone by. Like players on the stage, in the grand pageant show of the concluding scene, they have all been called forth to grace a performance that was perfect in the acting; but which *acted* leaves only the pleasing recollection of a dream, even whilst the actors remain in sight.

In the contrast of its splendid bazars, however, in the constant bustle of its populous streets, as compared with the mournful and desolate stillness of the wilderness around, enough is even yet left to raise the wonder of the traveller, though not to sanction the belief of those absurdities we have all, perhaps, so greatly admired, and implicitly credited.

Such is the present state of this great capital: it presents something in the novelties of the scene, but more in those recollections which are allied to the memory of its former condition. Its bazars are splendid beyond any thing we have ever seen in other parts, even, as we might almost assert, in the capital of the Turkish empire itself; its fruits as delicious and highly flavoured as any of the East; its people as highly civilised, and perhaps more courteous in their demeanour towards Europeans than those of any other Mahomedan city we are acquainted with.\* It possesses many advantages both of climate and situation, and enjoys a considerable trade; still, if it were not Bagdad, the city of wonders and romance, it might not be so highly

\* Little incidents are often illustrative of the general feeling; and some notion may be formed of the character we have obtained in the East from the following. I was one morning sauntering in front of the Pasha's Seroy, when a fellow accosted me civilly and offered to show me a GREAT WONDER. A bunch of keys was produced, and a small wicket opened leading into a dark narrow passage between two walls. In such a place, it was not a very inviting adventure; but having my sabre on I led the way at the desire of my guide; the passage being incapable of admitting two abreast.

We proceeded in the dark about twenty paces, when coming to a sudden turn made visible by a ray of light that burst in from above, I found myself alone in a *den with two lions*, who were devouring the remains of an animal that had been thrown in. This, said the fellow, is the sight!—such a sight, I must confess, as I could have dispensed with; the animals being loose, of an immense size, and absolutely wallowing in the blood of their victim.

I was not long in effecting my retreat, blessing my stars that they were so well employed; when the door being closed, the fellow with a grin of satisfaction asked me for his buksheesh. A present! said I; you may esteem yourself fortunate if I don't get you punished for your imprudence. What could you have said to Mr. Rich or the Pasha if I had been killed? He was at no loss, however, for a reply. "Sir, (said he, with perfect simplicity,) I HAD REALLY UNDERSTOOD AN ENGLISH FARINGEE WAS NOT AFRAID OF ANY THING."—The appeal was irresistible, so I was obliged to comply; assuring him I was only angry because he had not previously desired me to draw my sword, to strike off *both their heads* in case of necessity!

spoken of as it generally is. To the European, it affords but few of those amusements, after a while, that are suited to our taste; it possesses this advantage, however, over the generality of Mahomedan cities we are acquainted with, that the wanderer may stroll forth in his rambles, in perfect security; the police of the city in general being so excellent, as to set him above the fear of those insults which are but too common in other parts. In the midst of those troubles and dissensions we have described, except in the very moment of the strife itself, we were constantly abroad: we never met, however, with the slightest insult or annoyance of any kind. We went constantly to the baths, and hunted whenever an opportunity presented itself: we were frequently lost in these wanderings, when entirely alone, but were always treated with the greatest civility, being more than once conducted home by the first person of whom we enquired our way.

## CHAPTER IX.

DEPARTURE FROM BAGDAD. — JOURNEY INTO THE MOUNTAINS OF KOORDISTAN. — REMARKABLE PASS INTO THE VALLEY OF SULLIMANEY. — ADVENTURES ON THE ROAD. — ROBBERS. — FIGHT. — RETREAT OF HERACLIUS THROUGH KOORDISTAN. — RIVERS. — DESCENT INTO THE PLAIN. — KOESINJAK. — KOORDISH MANNERS, CHARACTER, AND CUSTOMS. — ARRIVAL AT ERBIL. — CEREMONY OF OPENING AND READING THE IMPERIAL FIRMAN, AND PROCLAMATION OF DAOOD EFFENDI. — KARAKOUSH; AND ARRIVAL AT MOSUL.

ON the 28th of February, an agreement was kindly made for me with Aly Aga Chulingee\* to convey me to Constantinople for 600 piastres, to be paid him on my personal account, and beyond the amount for the public dispatches we had with us, which is commonly allowed: it being also understood I was to make a small present to the servant according to his services and conduct on the road. As this important personage had already been specially engaged by the

\* "Aly Aga" was the name. "Chulingee" (or he who wears an aigrette in his turban) being a surname given him on the occasion of his receiving a small jewel of this description, from the Pasha of Egypt, for bringing in two Frenchmen's heads at the time of the invasion. According to the then rate of exchange, 600 piastres amounted only to about £20. I only spent about £10 more on the road between Bagdad and Constantinople; and even this I might have saved, as it was given away at the post-houses to the servants and drivers, merely to throw a little dust into their eyes, and secure their more willing services. The distance from Bagdad to Constantinople is about 1800 miles, but upwards of 2000 the way I came; and for the 600 piastres, I was furnished with horses, lodgings, and accommodations of every kind on the road; not in a very sumptuous style, it is true, but the best that could be had, and *the very same* as if I had paid 6000 piastres for the same purpose. On the whole, the Tartar must have received near 4000 piastres for this journey, though had I not met with this opportunity, I must have paid 2000 on my own account, the Company's Tartars receiving 1200 for the twenty-five days in summer, and thirty in winter, which they are allowed to be on the road; with 200 piastres for every day they can gain on the twenty-five by hard riding. It may be seen from this, that it is their interest to deliver the dispatches as soon as possible, and accordingly some very extraordinary instances of hard riding amongst them have been known. Twenty days is a common feat, seventeen by no means unusual; and I have heard of a man who had performed the 1800 miles in thirteen days.

new Pasha for the conveyance of the heads, it may be conceived that the present journey was likely to turn out to some account. He was in fact paid by the Pasha, by the Company, and by myself; nothing, however, can, I believe, restrain these gentlemen from the inveterate habit of encumbering themselves with packages and merchandize. The practice has been complained of by every traveller before me, and is indeed too lucrative to be resigned, though extremely inconvenient on all accounts; the best horses being commonly selected for these heavy loads of merchandize, whilst the dangers of the road are certainly increased by the inducements held out to plunderers, where their value is known or suspected.

March 1. — At two P. M. I was called for at the residency by a Tartar servant who brought my horse. The animal was a stout substantial Arab of the largest size; and as I had reason to congratulate myself on the selection, and was already dressed, I took my leave of my kind host and his family, and immediately set off. We had not proceeded far, however, before we stopped in a narrow street, and were detained for nearly two hours in receiving sundry letters and packages of greater importance apparently than my humble self. The conduct of my worthy Chiouse, Solyman Aga, had certainly prepared me, in some degree, for sundry mortifications of this kind: I had not expected, however, from the character that had been given me of my guide, that these little inconveniences would so immediately assail me in the presence, I may almost say, of the kind friends I had left; and who were enjoying themselves at their ease, totally unconscious, most certainly, of the delays I was experiencing.

When we had cleared the city entirely, we made another halt to await the arrival of our Chief; and I then found our party consisted of nine stout able men, perfectly well armed, with six loaded mules, three spare horses, and five drivers on foot for the whole. Our road lay through the desert that surrounds the town, and was never at any great distance from the river bank. After riding for six hours, we halted at a miserable caravanseray near the village of Dokhala, a distance of about twenty miles, our progress having been extremely

slow in consequence of frequent halts to arrange and fasten the packages.

On the 2d, we marched from four A. M. through a level flat, passed the ruins of three villages, and halted, at ten of the forenoon, in a small miserable town that was almost deserted by its inhabitants. Here, it would seem, no supplies of any kind could be procured: my companions, however, were not of a temper to be easily satisfied with the excuses that could be made by the few half-starved wretches whom they hunted out. We drove our mules into the court of the first vacant house, and entreaties having failed, the comchee was now liberally applied. One of the Turks, in particular, was so indignant at the delay, that he twisted the lash of his whip round the neck of an unfortunate fellow whom he had caught, and, drawing his sabre, was with difficulty withheld by the rest from striking off the suppliant's head. My Tartar, now coming up, interposed at my request, and was a personage of too much importance to be denied so *small a boon*. After a while, therefore, we shifted our quarters to another house, and by the liberal application of the whip, and the sight of a few piastres, succeeded, at last, in procuring a portion of the wretched food which these unfortunate villagers had yet remaining, or had preserved from the rapacity of the troops that had passed so short a time before. The distance we had rode this day was only eighteen miles and three quarters; with scarcely any food or rest, however, it was enough.

On the 3d, we marched one-and-twenty miles through a flat country intersected with deep ravines, and passed one small village only; the place we halted at answering to Delly Abbas in the number of the marches we had made.

On the 4th, we were joined by ten men on horseback, well mounted, and perfectly well armed. These in general were Koords, with the exception of a Georgian, whom I had once observed in attendance, I believe, at the Pasha's court. Congratulating myself on this increase of our strength, I was little aware of the inconveniences and mortifications that were in store for me from a junction I had esteemed peculiarly fortunate. This mighty personage, I was soon given to

understand, was a confidential slave of the new Pasha's; he was indeed of so inferior a rank, that I had once observed him standing amongst the servants of the court, whilst, with the gentlemen of the mission, I had been honoured with a seat in the presence of his lord. Our relative conditions, however, were now most woefully reversed; as from the day he joined, he entirely engrossed the attention of my Tartar, was always complimented with the most comfortable room, and the most honourable seat, and was in fact all in all; whilst the English ballios and his dignity, neglected and contemned, stood like a cypher in the great account. The fellow, to speak the truth, was often sufficiently condescending in his enquiries. When he had nothing else to do, he would call for the Faringee, or the English ballios, (as the mood might suit,) to answer his queries, and while away the time: it was always done, however, with an air of superiority, for which I could have repaid him sword in hand with the the greatest glee, had the occasion been only suitable, and we had been left alone.

We set off at five A. M., and at nine began a rocky pass, which we had not entirely cleared until eleven. At twelve we crossed the Shat ul Narin over a brick-built bridge of six arches; the country being an entire desert, and without a single village on either flank. After halting a quarter of an hour to water our horses at the river, we resumed our course, and at two P. M. reached Karatapah, a small village distant thirty miles from our former resting place.

On Wednesday the 5th, we left at five A. M., marching through a desert uncultivated country, over rising grounds covered with stones, crossing several rivulets, and a wide but shallow stream that partially occupies the bed of a river, flowing over loose pebbles and a stony soil in its greatest height. The distance this morning was twenty-three miles to Kifri, where we halted for near three hours; and having seized a sheep by force, as we approached the town, we killed it, divided it with our daggers, and finished it entirely in less than half the time it took to slaughter it. I had often seen things of the kind before, but never quite so sudden a dispatch; some of the Koords not even taking the skin off the quarter allotted them, but throwing the

oint at once into the fire, and afterwards, merely scraping the outside off. Kifri is a small clean village, surrounded with a wall, extremely pretty, and with a good post-house, but was then entirely deserted.

At three P. M. we again mounted, turning off considerably to the right of the direct and most usual road, and shaping our course a little north of east, for the mountains of Koordistan. As yet our deviations from the common route, since our departure from Bagdad, had been of no consequence; we now left it, however, entirely, and pursued our journey through that unknown tract, to the N. E. of Kifri, which is generally left a blank in all the maps, for want of *authentic* materials to fill it up. We have to regret that an entire want of instruments, with other disadvantages we laboured under, should have rendered our researches so incomplete: we may believe, however, from the constant practice of many years, and the variety and extent of the measured distances we had timed ourselves upon on former occasions, that our estimates of distances are in general sufficiently correct.

The country we now rode over on first turning off was high and undulating, without any villages, or the slightest traces of cultivation. At the distance of eleven miles from Kifri, making thirty-four for the day, we reached a Koordish camp just as the night set in. The weather was now exceedingly cold, from the height of the ground we had attained; but as our hosts refused us the shelter of their tents, and were indeed more likely to attack and plunder us, than to supply our wants, we were constrained to pack our saddles up in the centre of their camp, and to repose in the open air; with the comfortable addenda of being constantly on the watch, and momentarily disturbed by the apprehension of a surprise.

The people we were now amongst were entirely a distinct race, as to origin, manners, and customs, from those lawless, yet hospitable and generous wanderers I had so often reposed amongst. The tribe around us was certainly of very inferior consequence: their numbers were scarcely stronger than our own, exclusive of women, children, and aged men; we were, however, frequently disturbed by the silent



approach of these marauders to our packs; and were obliged to declare more than once, that the first man would be cut down who ventured beyond the limits we had usurped. Their dress was exceedingly simple, and well becoming the rude habits of their lives, and the wildness of the scenes around; both men and women were in general clothed in brown woollen jackets, (though of different shapes,) and loose drawers, fastened round the middle by a leather belt. Above these they wore square thick cumlins, drawn over the shoulders, and fastened in front over the chest by the two nearest corners. The chief distinction indeed that could be observed, between the two sexes, was in their head-dress; the men wearing peaked woollen caps, not unlike our Welsh wigs, if they were drawn to a point, whilst the women, in general, had their heads enclosed in numerous folds of stuff twisted round the crown in the shape of a turban.

On Thursday the 6th, at six A. M., we continued our march over rocky desert hills, and through an elevated country, until eleven, when we crossed a rivulet, a branch of the Arba probably, and halted at Ibrahim Kanchee, a small Koordish village, with a tolerable house for the reception of travellers. Distance twenty miles for the day.

On Friday the 7th we marched from seven A. M. for seven hours and a half, over very high rocky mountains, without passing a village on the road; though we could frequently observe very numerous and extensive collections of tombs on the heights to the right and left. As we rode over this bleak barren tract, that could only remind us, in the number of these monuments, of the uncertainty of life, our advance was suddenly encountered by a strong party of well mounted Koords, who desired them to halt, and proceeded at once to examine our mules. It was on the brow, and at the turn of a hill crowned with the mountain pine, and exactly suited to these sudden and predatory attacks, that our baggage, which had proceeded in front, was thus rudely stopped. Our drivers, who had been previously tutored for occurrences of the kind, and would have run away at any rate, immediately resigned their charge, and fled with all their might to inform us of the danger that awaited these valuable packages.

Being some hundred yards in front, I could only be cautioned to stop, when the rest of our party, alarmed by distant cries, advanced at speed. A word was scarcely wanted to explain the tale which their frightened looks had told; and pushing our horses to the utmost for a quarter of a mile, we were soon up with our opponents; many of whom had already dismounted, and were employing themselves in reloading the animals to drive them off. Our leading Tartars now gave a hideous shout, and rode furiously at the intruders with their sabres drawn. The appearance of our increasing numbers, however, was enough; and we could scarcely have a cut at the hindmost, before we found ourselves masters of the field; the Koords, who had not expected resistance, flying on every side over ground which our horses could not follow them through.

At half past two P. M., after riding for seven hours and a half, or twenty-seven miles, we halted at Kitchan, a small miserable village on the declivity of a hill, where the houses are scooped out of the slope, and only covered with reeds and mud. At this place, the most trivial accommodations could not be procured, not even a hut for shelter; though the weather threatened rain, and was piercing cold. Our folks, however, were too elated with their late exploit, and too naturally addicted to the use of their whips, to be put off. After a while, therefore, but not until the Koords, men, women, and children, had been well beaten, and were entirely resigned, we obtained a tent, and the best and only food they had.

I have often wondered at the efficacy of the whip. To the Tartar it is every thing. If his horse is good, a loud crack above his head incites him to exertion; if bad, a closer application impels his speed. If the animal falls, breathless and spent with toil, the whip is immediately brought in: the Tartar *never* resigns his seat, but commences at once an exercise, which as many join in as the length and breadth of the unfortunate carcase will admit. Are provisions wanting, the whip is the sole resource: the Tartar sits down, entreats for a while, curses his fate that he must have recourse to such drudgery; and next falls to with a willing hand, distributing his favours "a tort et a travers,"

until his wants are attended to. In the poorest villages, where there was not so much as a chicken to be found, I have seen the comchee produce a dozen full grown venerable hens. Where a blade of grass could not grow, for a single sheep to feed upon, whole flocks have been suddenly presented to our choice. If our horses failed, the whip first produced a change, and next impelled the most worn out hacks to the most extraordinary exertions. It was, in short, so evidently the natural weapon, and the great specific on all occasions of emergency and distress, that I often wondered how it was that I escaped the favour, and frequently asked myself the reason why the Koords and Arabs denied us any thing we asked.

Whenever any thing was refused, the whip was regularly introduced, and commonly with good effect: I could only wonder, therefore, why the villagers would *thus insist* on being thrashed, when after all the poor creatures were obliged to comply with our demands. Was it the effect of a natural obstinacy, which nothing but blows could overcome? or is it the consequence of that inveterate hatred of their tyrants, that can almost rejoice in those sufferings, which are nearly equally divided betwixt hunger and the lash? I must believe, in truth, that an Arab and a Koord, a Christian and a Greek, would almost die with pleasure under the torments of the lash, to distress their proud oppressors; but if this feeling is general, as it is most certainly, why not draw the sword, and cast the scabbard to the wind? Neither the one nor the other, I am convinced, are deficient in those daring qualities which the contest would naturally call forth; it is the consequence, therefore, of that general apathy, that can only feel a *private* injury, and overlooks, in the momentary exemption from personal suffering, the public wrong which tyranny inflicts.

Trivial as these circumstances may appear, if we only view another state, and anticipate the change, we shall at once perceive myriads of these warlike tribes in arms to revenge themselves at the call of the first deliverer that shall present himself. We shall at once anticipate the fall of that colossal power which has lived in tears and wallowed in oppression, but which is now drawing to a close, and

must be immediately replaced, either to make room for the rising strength of other states, or for the general weakness of increasing anarchy. The empire of the Ottomans, already on its decline in ancient Greece, is equally weak in its other extremities. Unless, therefore, the concentrating of its strength should endow it with new vigour, we may probably behold it circumscribed within those narrow bounds which the Taurus, the Euxine, and the desert mark. What power may succeed is a question that may well be asked; the enquiry, however, is even more foreign to the simple purposes of a plain narrative than the digression in which we have indulged.

On the 8th, we set off at six A. M.: the elevation we had attained was already very considerably above the level of the plains: our ascent, however, became now even more apparent than before, the country itself gradually assuming a far different and a more pleasing aspect. In passing a small encampment at the foot of the hills before us, a few of our party rode off at speed, and seized every horse they could collect: we were immediately pursued, but found too strong for an attack; the unfortunate creatures, therefore, were obliged to follow us on foot for the doubtful chance of recovering their property at some future time. My companions often execrated the country we travelled through, as inhabited by robbers and plunderers: But I must confess, that wherever our strength was sufficient, we were certainly the greatest and most lawless banditti of the whole.

With the fresh horses we had thus forced away, we relieved the worst of our train, and commenced ascending an immense mountain, that certainly required the exertions of superior strength. We could now distinctly perceive above us those eternal snows that had hitherto appeared as a distant cloud. Happening at this time to stop with a Tartar in the rear, a pistol was fired from behind a rock, and I was severely chid for separating from my companions, as another band, of a very suspicious appearance, was immediately at hand. I know not what could have been the object of these wandering marauders, whether to frighten or to kill; but certainly we never passed a man

that was not immediately dignified with the title of an enemy. Anxious as I felt to view at my ease the mighty grandeur of the scene, it was of no avail that I complained of the weakness of my horse. The great specific was immediately applied; and we scrambled up at a rate that might almost have frightened me, had I not been entirely taken up with the wild illusions of the scene.

We had been ascending ever since the 4th, and yet was the height before us apparently insurmountable: we had gone through a desert tract with scarcely a brook, a village, or the shelter of a tree; and yet the country now appeared equally well watered and populous, from the immense range of prospect that was below us, and of which the more prominent features were thrown together in this distant view. Forsaking for a while the sweet-scented violet, with all her rival train, the mountain shrubs now appeared in their winter garb; and as we ascended, we gradually found the snow increase, until, at last, we reached the wall, the three bastions, and the barrier, at the summit of these hills. The height we had attained, an alpine region in all its majesty, was, however, crowned by superior heights on either side, which overlooked the break we had reached, in all the grandeur of imposing strength.

We crossed the barrier through a gateway that was almost crumbling into dust, and began our descent through the snow by an equally rugged path, and with equal rapidity. The Tartars seldom increase or diminish their speed according to the nature of the ground; and I could not but wonder at the security of our course at the rate we went, especially as our horses were such miserable jaded hacks.

When we had got about half-way down, we made a general halt under the shelter of a tree; and after devouring the remains of a kid we had plundered and preserved for the occasion, and lighting our chubooks, we again mounted, and pursued our course at a canter along the rugged path. I expected, every moment, to be dashed to pieces down the precipice: but I felt it a point of honour, not to betray the least alarm, as my companions frequently asked me, with a laugh, how I liked this Tartar rate of travelling.





Entered by J. P. Smith

*Opening into the Valley of Salmoning.*

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When we had reached the foot of the great mountain we had passed, though our course was still on the descent, its rapidity was less dangerous, whilst our road lay chiefly through a narrow winding chasm, the bed of a mountain rivulet. At last, the road became entirely confined within its banks, and it was extremely difficult to perceive the outlet we were anxious to attain. Before indeed it could be reached, our horses were up to the saddle in the stream; and before we could get out through a narrow break in the mountain, which a loaded camel could not have passed, several of the poor creatures were absolutely off their legs.

The stream, on bursting forth, passes under an arch, over which the roads of the valley communicate; but our course to reach this road obliged us to scramble up the bank and behind the parapet; in which attempt, two of our horses fell back, and one of them was lost. The accompanying sketch will afford a very imperfect idea of the very extraordinary abruptness of this mighty break. It is not in fact to be described, and appears as if some giant's hand had rent the hill in twain to stride into the plain.

In a narrow dale, surrounded by inferior hills, we halted at Dollan on the evening of this day. This is a small pretty village divided by two or three limpid brooks, in one of which I bathed to refresh myself. The people appeared coarse but hospitable; and some women, who saw me in the act of plunging into the stream, scrupled not to invite me up to the recess they occupied. Any dalliance of the kind, however, is extremely dangerous, and, to confess the truth, these venerable matrons had not sufficient charms to induce the weary traveller to transgress. After washing myself, I returned to the house we occupied, where I found my companions listening attentively to one of the mountain bards. The fellow was clothed in black, and had a bear's skin over his shoulders; whilst, with a tambour in his hand, and with his hair flying loose over his shoulders in wild disorder, he sung with frantic gestures the mighty deeds of ancient times. A few paras being collected, we retired for the night; and I composed myself to sleep in the open air, to avoid the fleas and

smoke of our hut. The distance this day had been six hours, or twenty-one miles. The pass through which we had crossed the mountains is called the Saogirmah by the people of the country.

On Sunday the 9th, we marched from six A.M. over a hilly country, and through vales till twelve for six hours, or about twenty-one miles; when the road having been generally on the descent, even from Dollan, we came down into a fruitful luxuriant plain, about ten or twelve miles in width, by thirty or thirty-five in length. It is watered by a small fordable river that passes by Sulimaney, the capital of Koordistan, where we halted for the day. The connected part of the town may be about two miles in circumference, though many detached buildings and entire villages might greatly extend this circle, if included in the account. The houses are built of mud and unburnt bricks, with flat heavy roofs, seldom above one story high; and, generally speaking, are equally inconvenient and mean in their appearance. The population, which cannot amount to more than twelve or fifteen thousand souls, consists entirely of Koords; with the exception of a very few Jewish and Armenian families, who reside there for commercial purposes, and apparently engross the entire management of the trade.

Having dispatches for the local authorities from their superior, the Pasha of Koordistan, who was in Daood Effendi's camp, we were lodged in the Seroy, and most hospitably entertained. Our dinner was very similar to those Turkish and Persian entertainments which have been so often described by other travellers: it was composed of a variety of stews, pillaws, and curries; with several plates of preserves: the thing, however, that most attracted my attention, from having heard it spoken of as the national dish of Koordistan, was a hare-stew that was strongly recommended to my notice. From the smell, I was led to conjecture the animal had been kept until absolutely rotten, and had then been dressed in blood and fat with great quantities of garlic and spices of various kinds: so that, although accustomed to high-seasoned dishes, I found its pungency and smell beyond my powers of endurance, and was obliged to resign my share;

much to the entertainment of the company, who could imagine nothing better, and wondered at my want of taste.

When the mystery was explained, by their being informed that I was an English Faringee, and not accustomed to such *good things*, I verily thought, that in the eagerness of their curiosity at finding a Frank amongst them, I should have been pulled to pieces; for one and all they attacked me with questions and enquiries, requesting to see my pistols, my sword, my watch, my silver pencil-case; and scarcely allowing me time to pull them out before they all rushed upon me to share the sight. My pistols were loaded with ball, and as the fellows absolutely trembled with impatience to snatch them from each other, and to examine the workmanship, I expected every moment some fatal accident would have taken place. Luckily, the locks were stopped, and to prevent a request I might have been forced to comply with, I was obliged to assure them they could only be fired by the aid of a secret known only to myself: a truth I exemplified, after one or two had tried, by firing them at a pillar in the court, which I luckily hit.

I could easily perceive my Tartar was not quite so simple as the rest; the experiment, however, gave the conversation another turn; and after expressing their astonishment at the quickness with which I could reload, they all agreed the Faringees were certainly the most wonderful people in the world; and informed me, their country had been once invaded by Iskander, a great Roomee warrior, with whose valourous feats they attempted to entertain me: concluding a variety of idle tales I could imperfectly understand, as interpreted, by assuring me the Russians were the only people *now* left who could ever conquer them. This, indeed, they said had been prophesied, and they wished to know whether the English Faringees were on friendly terms with that tribe. The Russians, the French, (as the followers of Buonaparte,) and the English, were the only European nations with whose existence they were acquainted; even the names of other powers being entirely unknown amongst these mountaineers. With the English they had become acquainted through those of their

countrymen who had visited Bagdad ; it is a fact, however, deserving of attention, that throughout the great extent of country I travelled over, the like dread of an invasion from Russia seemed equally to prevail. Wherever I went, as far as I could understand, it was the general theme, and they always appeared solicitous to know the part the English and Buonaparte would take in the contest. I assured them Buonaparte was safely disposed of, and our prisoner ; but this they would not believe, whilst they almost seemed to wish the contrary, as their only protection from the Russians ; whom they affected to detest, though convinced of their invincibility.

Whether these northern conquerors will ever venture on the execution of a design they are so generally supposed to entertain ; either with a view to the subjugation of India, or to establishments on the Persian Gulf ; is more than we shall take upon ourselves to advance. In either of these directions the physical obstacles to be encountered are certainly very great. Judging, however, from the numbers of Russian and French wanderers, (the remains of Buonaparte's school,) who may be found in every direction leading to the northern shores of the Persian Gulf, and to the northern frontiers of Persia and Hindoostan ; we might certainly be led to suppose, so many individuals, without any visible means of subsistence or commercial purposes in view, can only be actuated by a spirit of enquiry that finds its reward in the sanction and support of superior authority. In Persia, indeed, and at Bagdad and Bussora, a number of the Russians whom we met were certainly prisoners of the lowest rank ; but they are not all of this description ; and we have adverted to the fact, no less on our own, than on the authority of several very respectable natives, who spoke from their own knowledge of its truth.

On the 10th we proceeded in the length of the valley from eight till half-past three, for seven hours and a half ; and at the average rate of near four miles and a half per hour ; making a distance of thirty-three miles for the day. We passed four villages on this march, and were already rising out of the valley, when we came to a circular bason of water at the foot of a small hillock, which is supplied by at least a dozen clear limpid springs issuing from the de-

activity, and which form at once a very considerable stream. It is in this respect extremely remarkable, that like the wells which supply the Nile (according to Bruce), this fountain is immediately the origin of a current which exists in itself for a considerable distance, instead of being formed, like other rivers, by the gradual junction of several tributary streams; so that it is original and self-derived, assuming at once the appearance of a rivulet even in its birth.

On halting, at the end of this march, we came to a small village called Suza\*; where, in a round bason like that of the rivulet we have just described, we saw immense quantities of fish, that were so tame† as to come forward whenever we struck the stones or made

\* A place of this name, and nearly in the same position, it would seem, is spoken of in the account we have of Artaxerxes's expedition into Carduchia: he appears to have returned there, after losing a considerable part of his army. — Vide H. Prideaux, *Old and New Testament Connected*, p. 647, 648, vol. ii.; also 230, vol. i.

† This instinct, in a creature, comparatively speaking, of very inferior intelligence, and generally supposed deficient in the sense of hearing especially, might have astonished me the more, had I not previously ascertained its existence under circumstances in their nature even more singular.

That creatures of this kind, confined within narrow bounds they cannot cross, should become gradually aware of the protection they enjoy, and feel at last reconciled to the voice of man, may appear in itself sufficiently remarkable. Near Manantoddy, in Malabar, however, at a small nair pagoda on the banks of a river, and *in the stream itself*, I have seen immense shoals of fish perfectly tame, and apparently sensible of their security, as they never forsake the spot, where they have been known for ages I believe, the alternate object of reverence and curiosity.

Having gone to the pagoda on a party of pleasure with some friends, we commenced the experiment by throwing bread, rice, and plantains into the stream; when, notwithstanding the noise we made, and the constant firing we kept up at marks on the opposite bank, their numbers became so great as to exceed any thing of the kind it is possible to conceive. A short time before there had been a bamboo jetty projecting forward, over which it was possible to advance, and from which the fish would readily seize the plantains and other fruits that were held out *from the hand itself*; diving with the morsel they had snatched in sportive mood, and returning as soon as it was devoured for another bite. Many of these creatures, though in a small river, were apparently four or five feet long; and I was informed by some officers of the party, and who had once tried the experiment, that they had found it extremely dangerous to attempt to swim the stream, and had been glad indeed to scramble out. The natives of the country believe these enormous fish to be under the special protection of the deity that presides in the pagoda; and as it would be an infringement of their religious prejudices to attempt to catch or destroy these monsters of the deep, I do not believe any European, as yet, has become acquainted with the particular genus to which they belong. It is indeed generally asserted, that it would be

a noise, to receive the rice and crumbs which we threw in. As soon as we had dismounted, we began unloading our horses, and took possession of an open shed, though it was already evident our presence was by no means welcome to the people of the place; who very openly desired us to quit, and refused us every kind of supply. As only old men, women, and children, could yet be seen, and we were near thirty strong, my Tartars had immediate recourse to the usual argument; and were distributing their favours with a liberal hand, when a strong party of well mounted horse were observed scouring the plain; who hearing the outcry raised, pricked their eager steeds, and were soon amongst us to share the fray. I felt by this time so accustomed to the whistling of the lash, and was so entirely convinced of the necessity of the application, that being engaged in unloading my horse, I was not immediately aware of the danger we were in, until I heard a general yell, and turning round, perceived every scimitar aloft, and gleaming in the air.

Our Tartars and Turks already prepared, were now crowding to the strife, whilst our new opponents attacked us in front, and the people of the village pelted us with stones and rubbish of every kind. In point of numbers, we had certainly no chance; my companions, however, were better armed, and perhaps more accustomed to the fray. It was in fact their profession, as they live in a continual round of strife; and they behaved, accordingly, with a becoming spirit. Aly Aga Chulingee especially, though he had scarcely untied his sabre, was already in the thickest of the fray; and we succeeded at last in driving the horsemen off, though one of our men received a sabre-cut across the wrist, and another was severely hurt in the shoulder in the early part of the encounter. We were too badly mounted to pursue; and, to speak the truth, our antagonists only retired to the outside of those narrow streets,

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death to partake of the delicious morsel, as they are poisonous; and it might in truth happen they would *be made so*, to the presumptuous epicure that should condemn the threat.

which had impeded the motion of their horses, and assisted our defence.

Too prudent to risk a reverse, our principal Tartar desired us to keep together; and every house being now shut up, or deserted, we were obliged to content ourselves with present safety; and, without food or shelter, to await the fall of night, to effect our retreat. In this interval, however, our Koordish guides, who had continued faithful, patched up an agreement with their exasperated countrymen on the outside; who, finding that we had little or nothing to lose, and were prepared to fight, consented at last to abstain from further harm, out of respect to the firman we had with us; though they refused, with equal obstinacy, to grant us the slightest aid.

March 11. — We set off in the morning at half-past six A. M. to avoid the Koords, whose faith we yet suspected, notwithstanding the truce that had been concluded. The rising of the ground had gradually commenced, from about the tenth mile the day before; and we were now proceeding over a hilly, stony country, with lofty mountains on each of our flanks. We passed three small villages, and then reached a fourth at twelve o'clock, on the banks of a river which some of our guides called the "Zer;" and which we crossed on a platform of hurdles supported by twenty-five inflated sheeps' skins. The course of this river is extremely rapid, being confined by hills; and its breadth about eighty yards. I have never seen it accurately laid down in any map; but following the direction of the hills, and to the east of them, further up, it runs across the road which Heraclius is thought to have pursued on his return from Guazuca. With this river, the country dependent on Sulimaney ends. We halted above an hour and a half on its bank; and resuming our course at half-past one, proceeded for three hours more over a hilly difficult country to Kooly Khan, a small village, distant full thirty-seven miles.

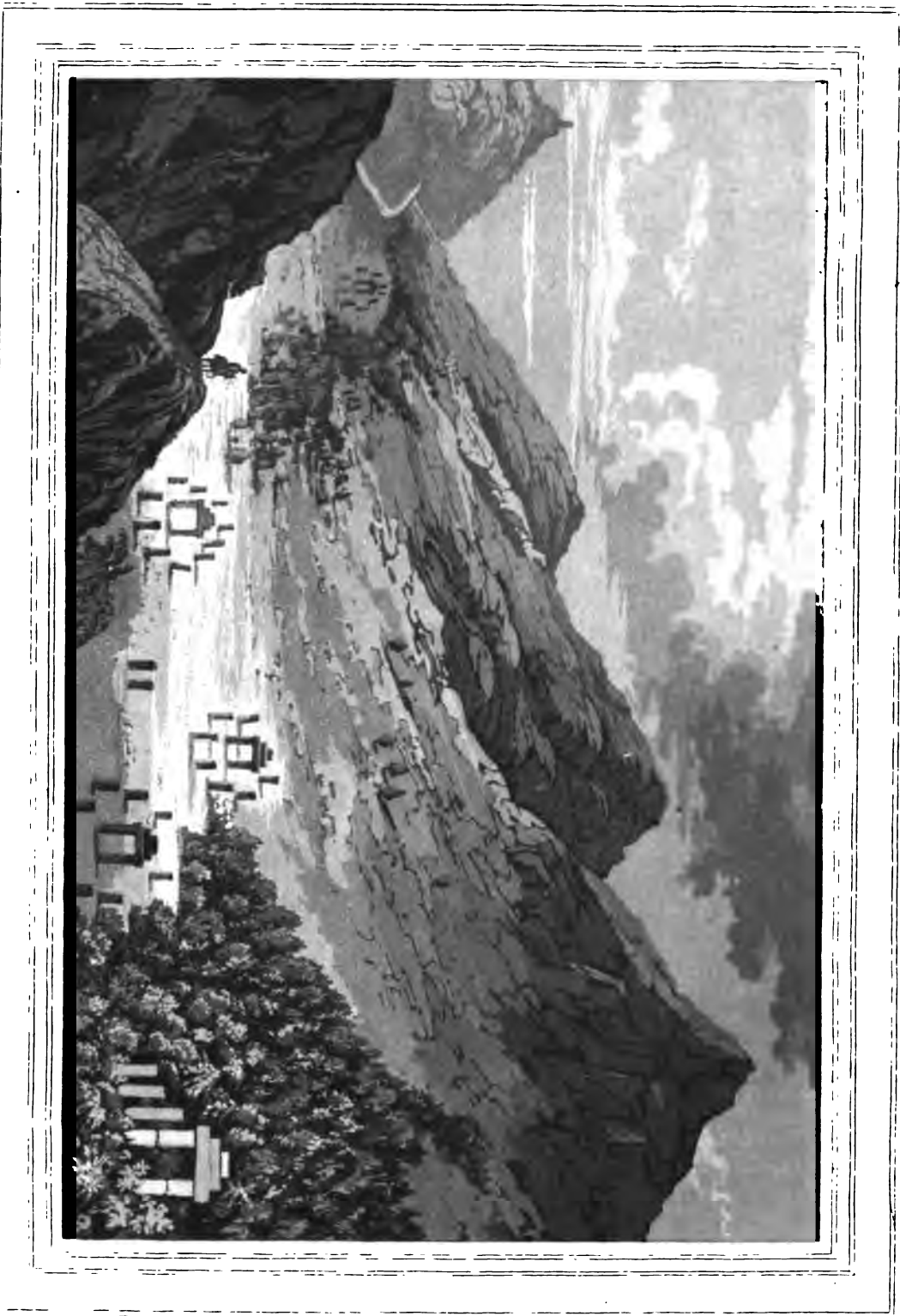
Of this retreat of Heraclius's in his third expedition, (taking it for granted that Captain Macdonald Kinneir's map is in this respect entirely correct,) it would be assuming too much to assert that any



proofs can now be traced. It is certainly deserving of notice, however, that as there are no villages immediately in the vicinity, the immense number of tombs we passed this day would induce a belief that some great battle must have been fought in this neighbourhood; an opinion which we have formed on the following grounds: 1st, Like the tombs between Ibrahim Kanchee and Kitchan, these indications of former life stand alone and insulated. There are no towns or villages immediately at hand, nor any visible ruins that could mark the ancient site of a considerable city. 2dly, The tombs themselves are not disposed in their order and arrangement, as in the neighbourhood of a town. It is not a *single and particular* spot, carefully selected, and regularly laid out for the reception of the dead, but quite the contrary: it is a heap, a mass of tombs, that form an elevated circle; the middle of which especially is crowned with stone pillars of a superior height, as if intended to commemorate the fall of some mighty chief surrounded by inferior slain. 3dly, In the *relative* bearings of these mounds, the traces which a battle would leave behind may be equally distinguished. It is a *line of slain*, with here and there, especially in the centre, a thicker throng of tombs that rise into a monument, phoenix-like, to commemorate the death that gave it birth.

At Kooly Khan, very beautiful carpets of the richest colours are made; and we were entertained in a miserable hut, but served with a most excellent mess composed of stewed apricots and rice. Some of the Koords here, taking notice of a brace of pistols which one of our Tartars carried, with barrels full eighteen inches long, insisted on becoming the purchasers. The fellow, I believe, was not anxious to part with them, as their extreme length was equally to his taste; when folks like these, however, insist on any purchase of the kind, there is no remedy but compliance. They paid twenty dollars down for their bargain with the greatest readiness, though the pistols were not worth as many pence; and my Tartar informed me, with a laugh of commiseration for their ignorance, that he had made a small fortune in Daood Effendi's camp a few weeks before, through their

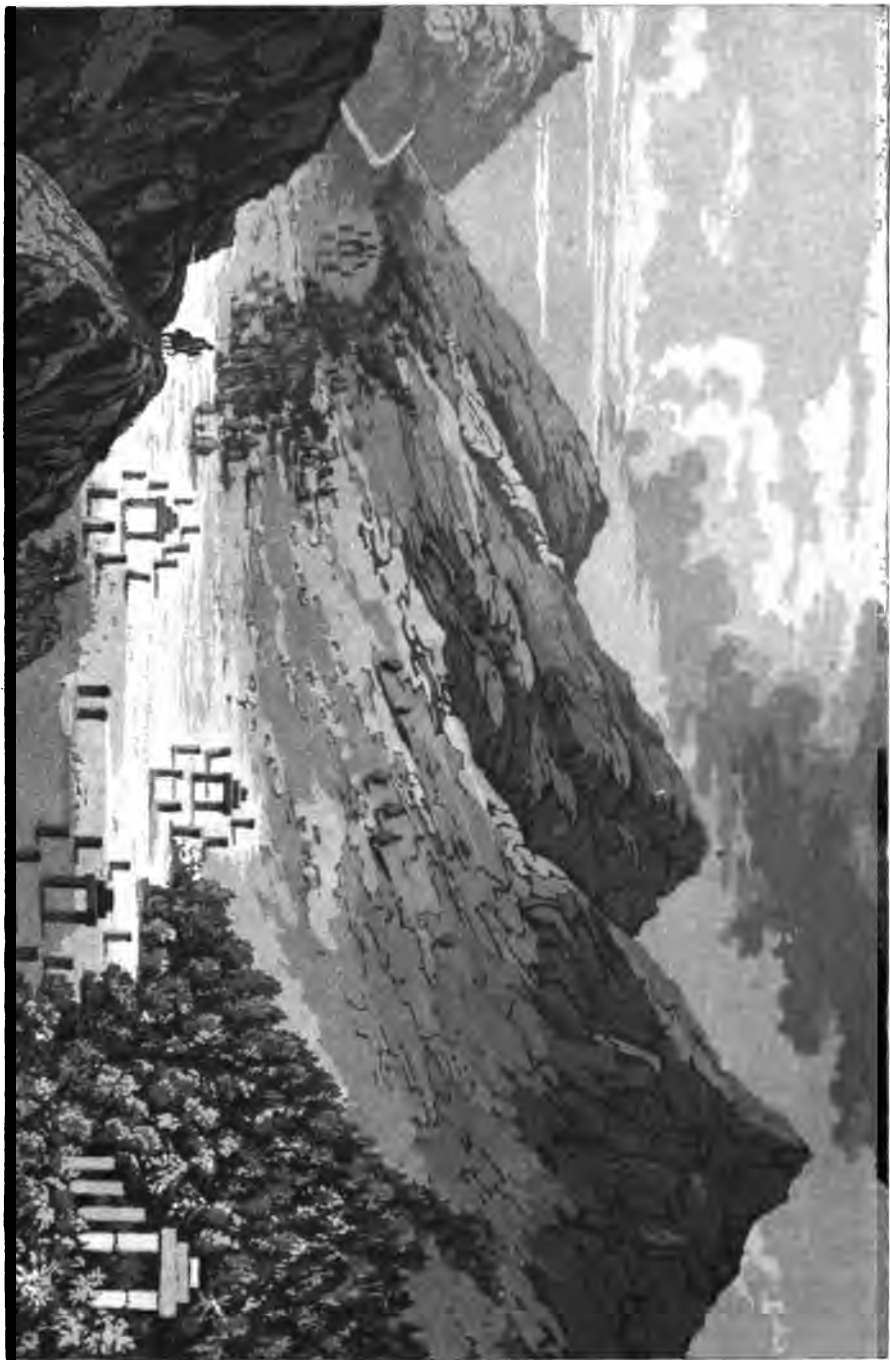




*Remondelle (Tombes in Switzerland)*

Engraved by J. P. H. H. H.





*Remarkable Views in Swatara*

Engraved by T. M. Stone



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eagerness to purchase every article he had brought from Oostambale, as presents for their dames. The manner of this forced bargain may illustrate the habits of these tribes, who are frequently as liberal in their rewards as they are rapacious in their extortions. He had been detained, it seems, in Daood Effendi's camp, then three days' march from the capital of the Pashalik; when, after many urgent requests to produce his stores, they ultimately seized his packs by force during the night; desiring him, the next morning, to set his own price on every thing he had, and immediately discharging the amount. This was treating him as a friend: as a stranger, besides the loss of his goods, he might have received a severe drubbing into the bargain; and might perhaps have been killed if he had attempted to resist. Mrs. Rich, I found, had lost a pair of Turkish slippers in this fray, which (having formerly travelled with her from Constantinople to Bagdad) he had intended to present her with.

12th. — From half-past six A.M., we travelled for four hours and forty-five minutes, (or about sixteen miles and a half,) over a mountainous, rocky, difficult country, and down a rugged narrow pass, into the valley where Koesinjak stands. Just before entering this town we passed the ruins of considerable buildings, and forded a rivulet (a branch of the Carpus, or Little Zab); a handsome stone bridge, supported on arches, that had formerly been used, having fallen in. Koesinjak stands on a rising ground just above the rivulet: it is partly fortified, and, being something larger and better built than Sulimaney, may contain full twelve thousand souls. It is remarkable for several handsome domes and mosques, and has some very prettily situated gardens along the banks of the rivulet. On the whole, indeed, it may be described as something superior to the generality of Asiatic cities; a considerable degree of cleanliness being preserved by sewers and other public conveniences that cannot well be named. The bazar of Koesinjak is extensive and well supplied; and I should not omit to mention, that in descending the pass that leads to this town, a mountain, distinguished by the name of Condil Dag, was pointed out to me as deserving of attention, from the



recollection of some great battle that had been fought there by Iskander.

The pass descending to Koesinjak terminates that higher region, of which Sulimaney may be esteemed the central though not the highest point. It is the most mountainous part of Koordistan; and the following observations will perhaps be found, at some future period, tolerably correct. 1st, The general direction of the road from Kifri to Kitchan is about E. N. E., gradually rising all the way over hills and dales for about fifty-eight miles. 2dly, Between Kitchan and Dollan the great chain of mountains is passed, which is again descended at Koesinjak, and which runs about N. and S., considerably to the west of its position in the maps. 3dly, From Dollan to the valley of Sulimaney there is a general though not a very considerable descent; and the road takes a plain and determined turn to the north, which it pursues to the pass leading down to Koesinjak, when it gradually winds round to the west, to meet the direct road from Bagdad to Mosul at Erbile. 4thly, From Sulimaney to the top of the Koesinjak pass there is a general ascent, about equal, I should think, to the descent from Dollan; the Saogirmah pass being by far the highest of the two.

Sulimaney, therefore, seems the centre, as it is the capital, of the most elevated valley of Koordistan; and as this valley is surrounded by immense mountains, covered with snow the greater part if not all the year, it enjoys all the advantages of our colder climes, without losing any of that superabundant fertility which generally belongs to the warmer regions. It is, in truth, in every respect, one of the most beautiful and fertile valleys in the world; possessing every advantage of climate, and all those varied and delightful changes of mountain-scenery which it is possible to enumerate, in all the perfection of an overflowing luxuriancy. The Koords themselves, a shepherd-race from the most ancient times, and the Carduchians and Parthians of history, retaining in these mountains those primitive habits which they have lost in towns; and exhibiting that fierce, ungovernable spirit of independence, which it is

extremely curious to observe, though not always safe to encounter. Unlike their countrymen of the plains in every respect, these mountaineers are all life, fire, and animation : robbers by profession, and constantly on the watch to spoliage. Generally of an active, nervous make, with thick manly beards curling over the lower part of the face, but seldom allowed to grow to any length : a dark moustache is often contrasted with eyes of liquid blue ; keen, piercing, and commanding ; bright as the falcon's, and equally vengeful too, that seem to boast the ferocious, treacherous bandit's life. Constantly armed, even in their own houses, with pistols, a dagger, and a well tempered falchion\* : the ruddy glow of health that bursts through their olive complexions finishes the picture, and stamps the daring outlaw as the healthful, hardy mountaineer.

The Koordish ladies well beseem their hardy lords : mountain-nymphs in their youth, and lovely, laughing, nut-brown maids, they are Amazons in their middle age ; and follow their husbands in all their wanderings. Their dress we have already described ; and as their manners partake of the freedom of their state, the delicacy of their shape and complexion is soon affected by the habits of their lives : they are in their prime at fifteen or twenty, on the decline at twenty-five. Constantly on horseback, both men and women ride with equal boldness and dexterity ; and few horses in the world can surpass those of Koordistan, for ascending the steepest heights, and galloping down the slope. The Koords are exceedingly fond of hunting the antelope, and commonly pursue at speed over every kind of ground, and down the steepest declivity, without hesitation or mishap : their horses being in this respect certainly remarkable, that, unlike the greater part of the mountain-breeds we are acquainted with, they are commonly of the larger size, and as beautiful and spirited as they are indefatigable and sure.

\* These are the arms they wear at home, or in their own villages. When a Koord of any rank appears abroad, and especially on a journey, he is also armed in general with a steel corslet, a battle-axe, a shield, and a matchlock or a pike.

Of the geographical divisions of Koordistan we cannot speak with any certainty, the interior of the country being very little known; whilst the mountains have never perhaps been crossed before, in the direction we followed, by any other European traveller. In former times, however, if we may judge from the numbers of Grecian and Roman gold and silver coins, which are still frequently dug up, and are often seen as ornaments round the women's and children's heads, a more extensive intercourse had once existed. It belongs at present in part to Turkey, and in part to Persia, being divided into small governments for pashas of a single tail, who yield a nominal obedience only to the sovereign, and are constantly at war amongst themselves; deciding their claims sword in hand, and inheriting, as they transmit to their posterity, the various quarrels of their tribes, and the vengeance of their wrongs. Naturally addicted to rapine and spoliation, this public anarchy is the excuse for every crime, and as the Koords are robbers by profession, bloody, vindictive, and treacherous, so the vicious tendency of their government is, perhaps, the more apparent in the violent habits of their lives.

13th. — The mountains, properly speaking, ended (as already noticed) with the pass leading down to Koesinjak; on this day, however, we had still to proceed over stony hills, intersected in the vallies by deep ravines, and through a road equally difficult and dangerous. Some of our party were twice stopped on their way, by small roaming bands of plunderers; but as we were tolerably strong, and were not of that description of travellers they sought, we reached Hashcuffsuka in perfect safety. This is a small village, with tolerable accommodations, distant thirty-three miles from Koesinjak: we also passed three inferior hamlets on the road.

14th. — We proceeded over a hilly, stony, difficult country from six till ten A.M., when Erbil, the ancient Arbela, appears in view; and after a short descent the plain begins. At twelve we reached this city, making a distance of six hours or twenty-five miles for the day; and passing through the bazars and dirty lanes, amongst which the castle stands, ascended through narrow dismal gateways, and were ushered

into the principal building of the place. It was easy to perceive, that although our reception was sufficiently hospitable, it was not quite so honourable and ceremonious as our companion the Pasha's confidential slave had thought himself entitled to. He played the great man in all its parts, first observing a dignified silence, next a haughty reserve; and refusing at last the friendly embrace of the Governor, when breathless with haste, but too late in regard to etiquette, he came to pay his court. He was offended, it seems, at not having been met before his entrance into the town, and also because no salute had notified his arrival; honours, I should have thought, far beyond his rank. The Governor had only been a lukewarm friend to the successful cause; and having but too much reason to feel uneasy at this error in his politics, was glad indeed to pacify his guest at any rate.

After a reconciliation, therefore, had been negotiated between these doughty chiefs, the whole of the troops in the garrison, with the principal inhabitants, were summoned together into the square, in front of the residence we occupied; when they were formed into an irregular circle, and after the loose firing of a few guns and carabines, the firman was read, and Daood Pasha was proclaimed as at Bagdad. The whole then joined hands, as in rejoicings, and moved round the circle in a slow awkward dance, to the melancholy, deep, nasal notes, of the presiding master of the ceremonies. It was easy to perceive, there was little of the heart in this formality: to them, perhaps, it was only a change of oppressors; but a change in such a case is always attended with some expense, as the great men of the East, like leeches, must be filled, before they cease to bite and gorge themselves with blood. At distant intervals this dismal ditty was joined in by the crowd; and when the shout of approbation was not thought sufficiently expressive, there were men who, under pretence of preserving order, belaboured the shoulders of the performers to the right and left until they roared again. The conclusion of the dance was followed by a general but irregular discharge of all the guns and pistols in the garrison; and as it is probable the greater number were

loaded with ball, which it was thought too much trouble to extract, it was certainly most fortunate that no accidents took place.

These formalities over, having unfortunately been pointed out as an English Faringee to some of the inhabitants, I was pestered with visits from all the sick and lame, who came to me expecting to be cured ; and who seemed greatly disappointed and astonished, when I fairly acknowledged (pointing to my pistols and my sword) that it was my trade to kill and not to cure. One of these in particular (a man of some rank) proved so troublesome, that I was obliged at last to turn doctor in my own defence. He ordered the crowd of inferior patients to retire, and taking me aside told me, it was well to put off such inferior folks with an excuse, but that, as for himself, he was a person of consequence, and equal in rank to the Governor. He then proceeded to the description of his case, and insisted I should prescribe, telling me, indignantly, I must not suppose him so ignorant as not to be aware, that every Faringee, and the English especially, were of the profession ; enumerating the names of some of our officers imperfectly, as of the Esculapian tribe, and praising one traveller in particular, for the gravity of his demeanour, and the length of his beard. I was now (as our Indians would express themselves) perfectly helpless ; so finding I was likely to be degraded from my present dignity as an English balios, unless I would consent to be a doctor also, I was obliged to recommend an operation, which I knew his case required, the first time he visited Bagdad ; and supplied him in the interim with such a dose, from my own private stores, as was likely to rid me of his importunities for the day. The wretch who, amongst other infirmities, had complained of such feebleness as no inducements could stimulate, and not even the most unnatural indulgences could overcome, left me in despair at the sentence I had pronounced, and vowed he had no opinion of my skill, though he would try my remedy.

In the evening, we were invited to a most sumptuous entertainment, consisting of forty dishes at the least. The children of the Governor were introduced to his guests ; story-tellers and musicians were next brought in to while away the time, and sooth us to repose

by the melody of their notes. Understanding, with difficulty, the general tenor of what was addressed to me, it may be supposed I could derive but little amusement from a story I had not the least clue to comprehend; and as for the music, it was of that monotonous, hum-drum, yet harsh, grating quality, which could only please a Turk. The song itself was of that violent, uncouth description of the recitative which is even now practised by the wandering Troubadours of the South of France, and which I heard afterwards, though in far greater perfection, in one of the villages of Languedoc. My companions, however, seemed to enjoy the entertainment; and frequently called upon me to express that meed of praise, which I yielded with pleasure as the tribute of gratitude for the attentions I had received. The Turks, with Asiatics in general, have no notion whatever of the powers of harmony; and I recollect having heard that, on a public occasion, one of our bands having performed some of their most beautiful pieces before the late Nizam and his court, were requested to repeat the favourite air they had begun with; the discordant tuning of their instruments to the leading key, as it proved on the repetition.

On retiring for the night, when I was about to compose myself to sleep on the carpet I had sat upon, I was given to understand by my rascally Tartar, it was expected I should withdraw to an inferior room. I thought, at first, that the hall we had dined in was appropriated to other purposes, and was about to comply; but when I found this was only intended as a compliment at my expense to the fastidious gentleman already mentioned, I felt at once the evil consequences of submitting to the insult; so deliberately brought back my pillow; and notwithstanding the clamour raised at my presumption, made my title good by stretching myself on the very best carpet I could find. This little incident, like many others, trivial in themselves, is mentioned for the advantage of future travellers. There will be some, perhaps, who will blame my conduct in this and similar instances, as intrusive and wanting in urbanity: from my experience of Asiatics, however, I must declare, that as the place assigned me was likely to affect the rank I held in their estimation, this was cer-

tainly the only expedient course. Too much condescension and humility, in these lawless climes, is only attributed to fear, or the consciousness of inferior importance; and as I had been allowed to sit in the presence of the Pasha, where this assuming slave was not even admitted, I felt assured a proper rank had been assigned me, which it was necessary to uphold.

Erbil, the ancient Arbela, is celebrated in history as the refuge sought by the unfortunate Darius after his defeat in the great battle of that name. It is a mean, dirty town, with a ruinous castle in the centre, standing on the summit of one of those artificial elevations that crown the plain, and appear to the eye an immense mass of ruins and decayed materials that were formerly of greater magnitude, and in a more perfect state. Its population is composed of Christians, Arabs, Koords, Turks, Jews, and Zezidees; and it is famous for a manufactory of thick heavy blankets, that are particularly well calculated for turning off the wet.

15th. — We left Erbil early on the morning of this day, accompanied by a guard of honour, and by the Governor himself for the first three miles; who, taking his leave of our fellow-traveller with many demonstrations of respect, left the rest of our party to pursue their course, without even the ceremony of an adieu. Our road lay over an undulating plain for five hours, when we crossed the greater Zab on hurdles supported by inflated skins, being ferried over by a small party of the Zezidees (worshippers of the devil), who commonly ply these shores for this purpose. These fellows were almost naked, and extremely haggard and miserable in their looks: they proved expert, however, in swimming our horses across; even the smallest boys, with one of the skins to support him, leading over three or four with the greatest ease, and with so much safety that we only lost one, who sunk in the attempt to return back, after he had nearly reached the intended shore. When we had all crossed, and were about to mount, a fellow who had held my horse asked me for a buckshish: a few paras would have been quite sufficient; but having none, I presented him with a cruce, which the knave returning with contempt, in the

expectation of getting more, I put into my pocket. The fellow, however, was not so easily to be put off: he was only anxious to extort a very unreasonable present for so trifling a service, and had never expected, I believe, that I would take him at his word. When he attempted, therefore, to seize my bridle, and pull me off my horse, calling me a Christian infidel and a dog, and demanding a larger gift, I fairly knocked him down with the handle of my whip; my companions laughing heartily at the exploit, and telling the astonished ruffian he had mistaken his man, for that *I was not a Christian, but an English officer*. I thought the distinction sufficiently curious; but the appellation, in point of fact, is so immediately connected with the patient suffering of every wrong, and the most abject fear of resenting an injury, that it only requires a very slight exertion of spirit to draw the line of demarcation which this distinction was intended to express.

The Zab is one hundred yards wide, and is deep and rapid at this season of the year: the country is a plain, though varied by gentle swells; and after three hours and a half, and fording an inferior rivulet, we reached Karakoosh, estimating the distance at eight hours and twenty minutes or forty-two miles, as we were well mounted, and made the best of our horses. Karakoosh is a large village inhabited partly by Zezidees, and is extremely dirty. Many of the houses have a small dome in the centre, which gives the town a remarkable appearance, and the people, in general, showed themselves sufficiently civil and well inclined; being also a personable, manly looking race, and the women extremely pretty. Why Captain Macdonald Kinneir, though in general, I doubt not, sufficiently accurate, should assert this place to be the ancient Memmium, I must confess I cannot understand, as Karakoosh is only forty-two miles from Arbela at the most, but Memmium, by the very same account, four days journey; or, as I should estimate this calculation by the day, full eighty miles.

At Karakoosh, my Tartar threw off the mask entirely with which he had contrived to impose himself on some of my friends as a pat-



tern of sobriety. The fellow having retired into our private apartment, in the Menzil Kaneh, with four of the principal men of our party, commenced the *business* of getting drunk, after many *formal* excuses, with as much gravity as if he had been engaged at his devotions. Exchanging his high kalpak for a shawl, laying aside his pistols and his sword, and deliberately sitting down, cup in hand, for the concluding scene. Unfortunately, or fortunately as I should think, the liquor failed them before the wished for degree of delirium had been attained; and, there being no more in the town, they were constrained to compose themselves to sleep, greatly vexed and disappointed at this interruption of their joys.

On the 16th, having been furnished with fresh and most excellent horses, and the fumes of the rakee they had drunk the preceding night not having, perhaps, entirely gone off, my companions began a style of furious riding to which our speed of the former day was not at all to be compared. Within a little more than an hour and a half, we reached Mosul, a distance, by the map, of fifteen miles; galloping all the way, notwithstanding our heavy loads, and shouting and flogging each others' horses, like madmen, to impel their speed. The country between Karakoosh and Mosul is nearly a level flat, but comparatively well cultivated, and the roads tolerably good, with the exception of two or three places where the little bridges over the drains had fallen in, and where we were obliged to wade across, or leap the breach, alternatives equally inconvenient and dangerous in the saddles we rode upon.

## CHAPTER X.

MOSUL; TRACES OF ANCIENT NINEVEH, &c. &c. — PRESENT STATE OF THIS CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS. — JOURNEY ACROSS THE SMALL DESERT TO NISIBIN, AND OCCURRENCES ON THE ROAD. — NISIBIN FAMOUS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WARS. — CASSIE JEHAN; DARA. — ARRIVAL AT MERDIN. — OBSERVATIONS MADE THERE. — A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ZEZIDEES OR DEVIL-WORSHIPPERS.

MOSUL, it is generally believed, stands very nearly opposite the ancient site of the celebrated Nineveh. It is situated on the western bank of the Tigris, about four hundred miles from Bagdad; and is approached by a stone bridge of fifteen arches, but of which five in the centre have fallen in, so that a ferry must be employed in crossing the stream. I will not take upon myself to assert, that those elevations of earth and broken materials which may be observed on the eastern bank, have ever formed a part of the extensive city that is supposed to have occupied this spot. The illustration and proof of this opinion would require more extended lights; it is certain, however, that very extensive mounds of earth, apparently artificial, and very nearly similar to the barrows or tumuli of Babylon, may be distinguished a little above the town. The first, about a mile from Mosul, and on the eastern bank of the river, is nearly a mile in circumference. The second, considerably higher, but less extensive, is crowned by a building with a cupola, (said to be the prophet Jonah's tomb, where the Jews go on a pilgrimage,) and is surrounded by a small village that still bears the ancient name of the lost city it is supposed to represent. Further on, the man I had with me asserted, the like inequalities might be traced in the surface of the plain for many miles; and he pointed to a few distant huts on elevated ground higher up the river, as being in the direction of

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other remains of the same nature with these, which ~~he~~ attributed in part to Nadir Shah.

The learned are, I believe, at a loss to determine the exact ground whereon this city stood; being divided in their opinions between the spot opposite Mosul, distinguished as Jonah's tomb, and the vicinity of the small village on the higher ground we have already noticed. If it be considered, however, that considerable towns built on the banks of a river generally follow its course in the direction of the streets; and if it be recollected also, that Nineveh has always been described as a city of very great magnitude; it will readily appear by no means improbable, that both opinions are equally correct; this great city having once extended full eighteen miles along the banks. The *mounds of earth*, that may be supposed to be the remains of the palaces, walls and chief buildings of the town, may principally be distinguished above Mosul: on these grounds we might therefore perhaps assert, that Mosul was originally the southern boundary of its extent.

In its present state, Mosul is a very considerable town, surrounded by a lofty stone wall; and though perhaps in its decay, is still very populous. Before the siege we shall have occasion to notice, it was said to contain twenty thousand houses: one-third of these have been destroyed, and only half of those that are left are now inhabited; at an average of six or seven persons to each house; however, its actual population might be estimated at forty or forty-five thousand souls. Of these about twelve thousand profess Christianity; have thirteen churches, occupy one thousand six hundred houses, and are held in some esteem. The space within the walls, though partly filled up with ruins, is yet adorned with many convenient houses, excellent hummums, and handsome mosques. The hummums, especially, are amongst the best I have ever visited, being generally faced with marble, extremely clean and elegant; whilst of the sixteen Menzil Khanehs generally open for the reception of travellers, there are ten or twelve of a considerable size, and con-

taining every requisite for their accommodation, after the habits and customs of the East.

The manners of the people in general are less reserved than in many other towns. The women are less closely veiled than at Bagdad; and a considerable trade in carpets, horse furniture, iron, and copper instruments, seemingly denotes greater wealth and more assured security than is enjoyed in other towns of equal magnitude. With a small district immediately around it, Mosul is the independent government of a Pasha of the first order; and under Hussain Pasha was besieged by Nadir Shah, though without success; the Christians joining in the defence with a degree of resolution that procured them an esteem and admiration they have still preserved. On this occasion, the Persians assaulted the walls for three successive days, but (the breaches being immediately repaired) were constantly repulsed; the Turks declaring with vows and imprecations, they would rather put their wives and daughters to an immediate death than see them fall the captives of these hateful heretics.

The mountains in the neighbourhood, contain some silver mines; and several marble quarries are found in the immediate vicinity. I am not aware that beyond these particulars it contains any thing in itself deserving of attention.

I had fared rather badly on the evening of our arrival; on this day, therefore, after enjoying the refreshment of the bath, I returned to the caravanseray with a keen appetite, and in the expectation of better treatment. I found, however, that my Tartar had gone off to the Pasha's without even thinking of my wants; and that the servants, taught by his example, had devoured every thing that had been provided on their account, without even reserving me a bone. I had had no dinner the day before, very little breakfast this morning, and was not, I must confess, very highly pleased with this neglect; especially as these rascals were evidently amusing themselves at my expense. Alone, and with a very difficult journey still before me, it was useless to contend; I followed therefore my usual

plan of showing the fellows I could depend upon myself. I had engaged a servant of the caravanseray to accompany me to the bath, and had secured his services by the trifling presents I had made; I therefore directed him to conduct me to the proper bazars, and procured an entertainment, which immediately secured me a host of friends; all the servants, and the very drivers, eagerly pressing to the treat. I soon, however, convinced them of their mistake. You have had your meal, I said, though you ought to have waited until I had been served; at any rate, I cannot demean myself as an English *balios* by allowing such inferior folks to sit at *my table*. To speak the truth, if there was any thing ridiculous in these assumptions of dignity, I generally found them turn out to a good account; so ordering the tray into the private apartment we had secured, my *would-be* companions immediately became my humble slaves, and waited on me with obsequious alacrity in the hope of an after treat. When my Tartar returned, I could instantly perceive the good effects of this assumption of dignity; as though it was all affected, he immediately began reprehending his people, and offering apologies for his own neglect.

17th. — Horses being now ready, we set off at five in the afternoon, and after riding two hours and three quarters reached a small village; where not all the whipping we could inflict (though extremely liberal in the application of it) could procure us accommodations of any kind, or the most trifling refreshment. We rode on, therefore, for nearly two hours more, and reached an Arab camp in the small desert between Mosul and Nisibin; where a kid was killed, and hastily broiled for us. Our meal over, we immediately set off, and fell in with another tribe at half-past eleven at night; where we only dismounted until guides could be procured.

18th. — We had now to ride in the dark for the remainder of the night, being piloted through the desert by our guides, until we reached a small rivulet, where we dismounted to give our horses a little drink. We had been travelling from five of the preceding

evening, and at twelve reached a small conical hill, which our guides ascended, to reconnoitre some distant horsemen who now appeared. For my own part, I could only distinguish a small black speck through the hazy atmosphere that overhung the plain ; and which appeared a distant cloud driving before the wind. Our folks, however, had better eyes, and were far better acquainted with the ominous meaning of this rising cloud. With the travellers who had joined us at Mosul, we were nearly eighty strong, and perfectly well armed ; but the Sinjacks, generally attack in considerable bodies, frequently of several hundreds ; and the principal Tartar immediately sending out his scouts, directed us to ascend the hill.

The first scout that returned desired us to prepare, and before the second could reach us, their spears were already visible, when some stout Christians of our party began their battle song, clashing their swords and pistols together at intervals to increase the noise, and to work themselves into a becoming fierceness for the strife. Thinking I had some right to understand the business we were about, I immediately requested a perfect silence might be observed ; and that our packs should be piled up at the few accessible points that were assailable, as a breast-work to resist the charge. I must confess, this advice very nearly lost me the little credit for resolution I had apparently obtained in the former fray ; as my companions, in the increasing fervour of their shout, seemed to evince their belief, that an intolerable noise was the only proof of personal intrepidity. They continued singing, therefore, clashing their arms at intervals ; whilst others composedly sat down to smoke their pipes. In this situation we remained for about half an hour, when a few horsemen, separating from the still distant cloud, rode thundering down in pursuit of our Arabs ; and only stopped, when they perceived our numbers and quality, and the commanding station we had assumed. I believe the noise we still kept up was of considerable advantage, as, after observing our position, they greeted us with a Salam Alik, and immediately rode off ; the distant cloud of dust

the main body had raised gradually diminishing, until at last it seemed to lose itself in the level flat.

Happy in a deliverance that was attributed to the valour we had displayed, we now again resumed our weary course. At two P.M. we took post a second time in some considerable ruins on our left, on the first alarm of another band of plunderers. As far as I could observe, these were the ruins of a large caravanseray; though some of the people asserted that a city had once stood there, and immediately commenced one of those idle tales, which they have always ready for an occasion of the kind. The only remarkable object I saw there was a stone coffin or trough about six feet long, and which lay in front of the ruins, being apparently applicable to various purposes. A little beyond this, at three P.M., we dismounted, for a short time, to water our horses at a shallow stream; resuming our course at four until twelve at night of the eighteenth.

19th. — After about an hour's halt, we again mounted, and proceeded with the greatest caution, my Tartar not allowing a word to be spoken, or a pipe to be smoked, lest the smell should betray our silent course. We had now been marching almost continually, and without any rest whatever, since five P.M. on the evening of the seventeenth; when, after passing two encampments at nine A.M., two small villages, and some considerable ruins on our right at ten, we halted at Chullea Aga, a miserable village, at half-past ten. As we had now been on our horses for upwards of thirty hours out of the forty-one without any sleep or rest, and with no other food since the seventeenth than a few onions and a piece of the blackest bread, it had been my hope we should have halted for the day: I had indeed been thrown at an early hour in the midst of a rivulet, in consequence of the weariness of my horse; but when the order was issued, I was obliged to mount. As yet, I had had but few occasions, in the course of my peregrinations, to complain personally of the people of the country we travelled through: when I had been treated with neglect or insolence, it had generally been by some assuming Turk, or half-civilized

Tartar of our own party : on the present occasion, however, a trick was played me, that was the cause of very great temporary inconvenience. My Turkish boots had got wet by the accident that had befallen me, and had so shrunk in the drying, that I found it impossible to pull them on ; which a villager observing, he immediately accommodated me with an old worn out pair, and took charge of mine until we should reach Merdin. I had generally been sufficiently on my guard, but on this occasion was so pleased with the fellow's civility, that I accepted the offer, and presented him with a cruce. We had not rode far, however, before his brother made off with my boots ; and when I seized the rascal by the throat, to drag him off his horse and punish him for his knavery, my Tartar interposed, and requested me to forbear, with promises of redress which he never performed.

It was a quarter to five before we had resumed our course ; we rode until a quarter past ten, through a country partially cultivated ; and passed two camps, or temporary villages, before we reached the caravanseray at Doogroot, distant five hours and a half from Chullee Aga. Here we halted for the night, after having spent those of the 17th and 18th in the open air, and without sleep ; and after having been in the saddle thirty-five hours, and on the move upwards of forty out of the forty-eight.

20th. — We mounted our jaded hacks at half-past six A. M., nearly recruited by the five hours' sleep we had enjoyed ; and meeting a strong party of Tartars on the road, offered them an exchange of horses ; but the fellows were not to be taken in : so after some delay we reached Nisibin at the end of a ride of four hours and a half. Nisibin \* presents the miserable remains of a town formerly of some extent, and which occupied a considerable space along the banks of

\* Nisibis, now Nisibin, a midland town thirty-five miles from the Tigris towards Charraë (or Harran), was heretofore a very considerable city, called Antonia Mygdonia, from the river Mygdonius which runs through it. Under the Romans it was the capital of Mesopotamia Proper, and was well defended by its bishop in Constantine's time against the Persians, but taken by them afterwards in the time of Jovian K. Rauwolf.



the Mygdonius; a small but rapid stream, that defended the position to the north, whilst the south was equally protected by a swamp. The greater part of the houses are in ruins, and the post-house is execrably dirty; the remains of an aqueduct, however, with other traces, sufficiently point out the great importance it once enjoyed.

In the town is a building that has the appearance of a castle or citadel, with loop-holes in its walls; and a stone mosque also with a single minaret. The ruins of a Christian church, once dedicated to St. James, still exist; and at about a musket-shot from the church five large granite columns, each of a single stone sixteen or eighteen feet in height, are also left.

After resting ourselves whilst we breakfasted, for an hour and a quarter, we again mounted, and passed some considerable ruins called Serika Cawn by our guides, (though I have been since informed Cassir Jehan is their proper name,) at about seven miles from Nisibin. These present the appearance of a fortification or castle of considerable extent, the lofty massive walls remaining almost entire to the present day. There is a well (I was given to understand) in the centre, producing water remarkably clear and cool, and a stone staircase, almost perfect: some parts of the wall though undermined having also resisted the ravages of time. We halted for the night at Hamooda, a very small village with a large square post-house tolerably convenient, at about four hours' distance from Nisibin.

21st. — A few miles beyond Hamooda, we passed the lofty majestic ruins of Dara, once a frontier town of considerable importance, and very accurately described in his travels by Captain Macdonald Kinneir of the Madras establishment. After riding five hours and a half for the day, we arrived at Merdin, the ancient Marde; passing on the road, at the foot of the hill, some very remarkable excavations in the solid rock, and ascending the mountain the town stands upon by a steep, narrow, and very rugged path.

We were here entertained in a very handsome manner by the Governor; and I was visited by the principal Christians of the place, who brought me very liberal supplies of wine and bread of the very

best quality; enquiring with earnest solicitude after the health of their bishop, and the temper of the times. When the company had withdrawn, my companions immediately solicited a share of the presents I had received; and pushed round the flask in a manner that sufficiently convinced me their only object was the enjoyment of the soft deliriums of ebriety. The Turks appear to me in this respect intolerable. They outwardly profess the utmost abhorrence of all intoxicating liquors, and generally confine themselves to the limpid stream; but whenever the opportunity presents itself of getting thoroughly drunk, they may be esteemed the greatest reprobates in the world; and it is never neglected. Their sobriety, in fact, consists in this, that they disdain the partial enjoyments of mirth-inspiring wine; and are only content when they can indulge to the utmost extent: the end of drinking appearing amongst them, the entire oblivion of every care, and the repose of death.

The town of Merdin is nearly three miles in circumference, and is situated on the southern side of the hill just below the old citadel that defends the summit. It is surrounded by a stone wall that joins that of the citadel; and the houses in general being built of stone, present a much handsomer appearance than any I had hitherto visited. The streets, however, are extremely rugged and inconvenient, though perfectly clean; opposite qualities that are derived from the greatness of the slope that carries off the dirt, but is indeed extremely difficult to scramble up. It is the metropolitan see of the Catholic bishop I had met at Bagdad, and is governed by a Motselim appointed by the Pasha; the inhabitants being a mixture of Catholic, Nestorian, and Armenian Christians; with Turks, Arabs, and Jews, and, it is said, a few families of Parsees. The whole of which we may estimate at upwards of 20,000 souls; if it be correct that there are 2000 houses inhabited by Mahomedans, and 1000 by Christians of various sects, as we were informed.

Before we leave Merdin, beyond which they are seldom found, it would be wrong to omit the notice of the Zezidees of Mount Sinjar; a sect of fanatics who infest the small desert between Mosul

and Nisibin, and are not, I believe, so properly speaking, "worshippers of the devil," as deprecators of his wrath. They stand nearly in the case, it would seem, of the old beldame who was observed to light a taper for his Satanic majesty, after having performed the like courtesy to the more venerated shrine of the Holy Mother: "He was not so bad," she said, "as the folks would have him; and there was no knowing *where* she might want friends."

Of their peculiar tenets there is little known; for as the Turks only tolerate those sectaries who have the sanction of a written law, (as the Christians and the Jews,) the Zezidees are obliged to accommodate themselves to circumstances, and frequently assume the denomination of the enquirer, calling themselves Mahomedans, Jews, or Christians, as prudential considerations may suggest. It is asserted by some, that they equally venerate the Koran, the Scriptures, and the different authorities of the Christian and Mahomedan religions; whilst there are others who would maintain that they are derived from Jezid and those Arabians who slew Hossein, the grandson of Mahomed, and persecuted the family of Aly with so much rancour and virulence. The Zezidees in this respect resemble the Mahomedans and the Jews, that their males are circumcised in early youth; but as this custom is equally practised by other Asiatics, and (as we have understood) by some Christians in the East, so in the use of wine, and other strong liquors, they would seem to separate themselves from the more strict observances of this religious sect. The Mahomedans abhor wine, and yet in some instances will be found the greatest drunkards in the world: the Zezidees, on the contrary, seem to venerate the mirth-inspiring grape, as the immediate gift of the Deity, and scruple at the most trifling waste of it as at an utter abomination; carefully holding the goblet with both hands when they drink, and attentively covering up with earth the drops that fall, as the immediate portion a superior power has reserved. It may be allowed, where this custom is scrupulously observed, there is little danger indeed of absolute intoxication; as a single moment of for-

getfulness might utterly destroy those hopes of salvation they entertain in the general tolerance of their faith.

It seems a general principle amongst the Zezidees, that the mercy of the Creator is boundless, as his wisdom is infinite; and when they speak with reverence of the power they are accused of worshipping, calling him "Lord and Master," it is only in the assurance of seeing him restored to those honours he has forfeited by his disobedience. Why provoke his wrath, they say; why interpose between a fallen angel and the great principle they worship; when it may so happen that his faults will be forgiven him, and when it is certain their curses and interference are *uncalled* for by superior might? God wants not their aid to punish a fallen servant, and better shun his example than curse a name which they even esteem it unlawful to pronounce. As well might they interfere between the prince and his officers; as well might they draw the sword to punish a favourite, who lives but in the breath of the Sultan, and who may rise to honours on the morrow, as he has been disgraced for the day. Followers of Shaik Ade, they are accordingly deists of the most tolerant principles, and not worshippers of the Devil as is generally believed: Christians on *Christian* ground; or Mahomedans *like himself*, as a *latitudinarian* mufti once asserted; and the description was perhaps correct.

They chiefly reside in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinjar, a range of hills which cross the plains of Mesopotamia to the south-east of Merdin, and are celebrated for the grapes, figs, and apricots, which they produce almost spontaneously. In the winter they dwell in caves on the brow of these mountains; and issue forth during the summer months into the open plains, stopping the caravans, and plundering all they meet with indiscriminately. On these occasions, they pitch their tents in the desert, after the manner of the Bedoos; fight on horseback with a sabre, a lance, and pistols, a rifle or a fusil, which they can use with equal dexterity in the advance or the retreat; firing as they fly at speed, (like the more celebrated Parthians, whose country they partly occupy,) and seldom missing their aim. The Zezidees are in general fine, personable men, dressed like the Turks,

trained from their youth to arms, extremely well mounted, and capable of enduring the greatest fatigues and privations; but, commonly speaking, as wantonly cruel and treacherous, (murdering their prisoners, or stripping them naked, and leaving them to perish in the desert,) as they are sometimes cowardly. We heard some very dismal accounts of their treatment of various travellers who had fallen into their hands; but were also informed of two or three instances wherein the resolution of a single individual had absolutely intimidated them, and saved the whole caravan from being plundered.

At present they are thought to amount to between one and two millions, and are divided into small independent tribes or families, each under the conduct of its own immediate chief. These various tribes are said to be derived from five original families; but can now better be distinguished as "stationary," or "wandering Zezidees:" the one and the other being again separated into "blacks" and "whites." The "white Zezidees" are the laity; the "blacks" (so called from the colour of their dress) the clergy; though it would not appear these priests are very constantly employed in the duties of their ministry, since they are often met with as shepherds, in charge of the common flock.

Amongst other extravagant superstitions they are accused of, it is believed, and probably true, that once a year they assemble at a large cavern in the side of Mount Abdool Aseez, where they devote a portion of their wealth and most costly ornaments to their founder and the Devil, by casting them into the yawning abyss: accompanying this offering (which is perhaps emblematical of their contempt of worldly goods) by the most horrible and profane ceremonies; and dancing to the wild music of their horns and cymbals, in the most uncouth and frantic expression of religious inspiration. The Zezidees commonly purchase their wives from the parents, but are never allowed to repudiate them after consummation, except they devote themselves to the church, when the divorce is permitted, and they marry again; a liberty that may perhaps account

for the numbers of *black* Zezidees that are to be seen amongst them. We heard nothing of the peculiar ceremonies that are observed at a birth, but were informed they rejoice at a funeral; unless when their friend has fallen by violence, and has not been avenged. In this case the body is consigned in silence to the grave, and the nearest relatives commonly shave their beards, as a mark of the distress and dishonour they labour under; never again allowing them to grow, and delaying all funeral honours, until the manes of the deceased have been appeased.

Their devoting a portion of their wealth in gold and silver, as already mentioned, has perhaps given rise to the popular belief, of their having a very considerable treasure concealed in a well for their Shaik, when he shall return and visit them. Impelled by his avarice, and the desire of obtaining this hidden store, or provoked by their depredations and cruelties, the Great Solyman once attacked them with a considerable force; following them into their hills, destroying their grapes, and the little cultivation that could be seen, and striking off the heads of several of their chiefs. In the end, however, he was called off by insurrections in other quarters, leaving behind him the recollection alone of those cruelties, which could only stimulate their inveterate hatred of the Turks.

## CHAPTER XI.

## MERDIN TO CONSTANTINOPLE, AND OCCURRENCES ON THE ROAD.

ON the 22d, early in the morning, we left Merdin. The Motselim, the evening before, had expressed a wish to purchase the pistols I wore in my belt; but as I felt the pistols of greater value than the money, in a situation where the pistols might defend the purse, but where the purse could not protect the person, I had fixed their price at 200 piastres, believing this demand might induce him to retract. On mounting my horse, however, I was presented with the amount in gold, and, though unwillingly, was obliged to keep my word. It is thus that bargains are commonly transacted with the grandees of the East: there is no freedom of choice where the traveller is in their power; but as they often seize by force, without offering any remuneration whatever, so it sometimes happens, (as in this instance,) that the weaker party is the gainer by the exchange.

The first part of the road from Merdin was over a hilly desert tract, with a few neglected vineyards here and there; and was infested, as our folks asserted, with numerous banditti. We kept as close together, therefore, as we could; and being well mounted reached Tezean in six hours in safety, though not without experiencing a variety of alarms: having heard enough certainly to awaken our fears, even had we not encountered so many suspicious marauders on the road, apparently on the watch to pick up stragglers. These wanderers commonly presented themselves in parties of four or five, on the brow of the heights we passed; and had each a matchlock in their hand, which they rested at times in the bushes they crept amongst, as if watching to take us off: on

firing our pistols, however, to show we were prepared, they generally made for the steepest crags, marking our course with anxiety, as if doubtful of our intentions. It is probable, indeed, they were at least as frightened as ourselves; the folks our party consisted of, being universally esteemed very unwelcome visitors on account of the depredations they generally commit. On reaching Tezeean, a considerable village, well watered by several small rivulets that fall into the Tigris, and with the principal house on a rock in the centre; we were ushered into a long dismal chamber, where the chief made his appearance, after a while, in a very unceremonious manner and attended by twenty or thirty savage looking ruffians all perfectly well armed. These folks seemed to view our party from the beginning with an eye of jealousy and mistrust, intruding themselves in our places in a rough, boisterous manner, that soon produced a very animated discussion between our principal Tartar and the chief. The fellow, a tall, athletic Koord, of a most ferocious aspect, seemed to doubt the authenticity of the firman we had brought with us; and insisted on seeing the heads, in proof of its authority. When the saddle-bags that contained them, however, were brought forth, and when a small square box was taken from each, and (the lid being removed) a white linen bag was opened, and the grim and ghastly features of the fallen Pasha were exhibited, the ruffian turned aside evidently discomposed; whilst it was equally plain he applied the moral to himself. In the height of his pride, at that moment, and in the full enjoyment of his independence, he had never perhaps been taught the possibility of a reverse; but the same power, (said our Tartar with a determined look,) can strike off thine, Mustapha Aga! if you dare to insult the officers of the state! The lesson was sufficient: he made light of the threat, but the impression seemed indelible; and after a while he withdrew, depressed and mortified in the extreme, leaving us to ourselves; professing, as he retired, the utmost respect for our firman, and the authority that could thus vindicate its rights. In the course of the evening, he sent us abundant supplies of every kind; and a favourite buffoon



was also introduced with his compliments, to beguile away the time : after which, we retired to rest, but with our sabres and pistols in readiness, at the desire of our chief, to guard against treachery during the night.

28d. — Some of our horses having been exchanged, we rode for four hours through a country still more bleak and desolate than that of the day before ; even the remains of vineyards and cultivation having entirely disappeared. At the second village, however, which we passed by without entering, the prospect very suddenly improved ; we left the rocky hills behind, and entered upon an extensive and well cultivated plain covered with villages. In the remaining seven hours and a half, we passed close by three considerable hamlets, besides those at a distance ; and as we rode through the fields had occasion to observe the very superior degree of perfection cultivation had attained ; the fields being regularly laid out, though not enclosed, well manured, and perfectly and evenly ploughed, by strong well conditioned oxen of the largest size. It was the first attempt at regular, general, and systematic husbandry I had hitherto met with in a tract of about a thousand miles ; the rest, though capabilities existed, having rather been a hasty and very imperfect attempt at raising just enough to supply the most absolute wants of a thinly scattered population. On drawing near to Diarbekir, the road became rather difficult, marshy in some places, and confined by hillocks for the last four miles. We again saw the Tigris, rapid and sinuous as below Mosul ; and passing three bridges, (the last very handsome and well built, and consisting of ten noble arches,) reached the outer gates of the city at about half-past five.

As the ancient Amaida, Diarbekir is not unknown ; and the name is even now used by the Turks, who frequently call it " Kara Amid," or Black Amid, from the colour of the stones employed in building the walls and principal houses. There are few places in these parts, I think, that offer a more novel and interesting appearance to the European traveller than this : the rapid stream almost seems

the boundary of life, as immediately after passing the bridge, the abode of death presents itself on every side; and the stranger is at once surrounded with tombs, and awe-struck at the melancholy gloom of the black marble battlements which encircle the sable pile. From dark lofty porticoes of imposing strength, a busy crowd issues forth to complete the illusion; fair, restless, and decked in a thousand colours, they almost appear the beings of another world, enrobed in all their vanities, and revisiting their earthly tenements. In proceeding through the streets, the same impression is still kept up; and the wanderer, without any very strong appeal to imagination, may almost fancy himself in the vale of tears, in the palace of enchantment and despair, which the fair Scheherazade so well describes.

On reaching the caravanseray attached to the Pasha's palace for the accommodation of public messengers, our dinner was immediately brought in, after the Turkish manner, a single dish at a time. The first thing that was served up was a large tray of the coarsest rice; nothing so very savoury, I thought, for a Pasha's kitchen; but I had been on horseback for eleven hours and a half, and so required no seasoning. The second and third dishes were, to the full, as coarse and indifferent; but as I heard some mention of mounting immediately, I determined to lose no time. When the fourth came, therefore, a savoury pillaw; a fifth, a sixth, stews, curries, and pastry; fifty varieties; I must confess I was more inclined than able to partake of the luscious treat; an error in politics I determined to rectify on future occasions, by reserving my forces for the conclusion of the engagement. At the next dinner, however, having passed by the first and second in *expectation of the third*, lamentable to be told, I lost my dinner! a warning, I trust, to all epicure travellers, and which I notice for their sakes.

There was very little information, regarding this city, which I could obtain from our visitors, that is not, I believe, already known. Having walked over it that evening and the next morning, with an Armenian who volunteered to be my guide, I found, on the whole, it

was better built than any other Mahomedan city I have ever visited, not excepting Constantinople itself. The streets, in general, are well paved, tolerably clean, and wider than in other towns. The bazars are extensive and well supplied, the baths, of black marble, equally sumptuous and convenient; and the mosques (in part Christian churches) both numerous and well built. The north-east angle is protected by a citadel, surrounded by a lofty wall, equally strong with that of the city, which is defended by numerous round and square turrets mounted with artillery, though generally in a very unserviceable state. On several of these turrets, which appear of different dates, and at the gates, inscriptions may be observed, sometimes cut into the stone, at others, traced on furnace-baked bricks: I had neither time nor learning sufficient to arrive at the meaning of any of them; but was told by my guide, (who appeared tolerably intelligent,) they were supposed, like those on the great bridge, to contain the date of the building, and the name of the Sultan or Pasha of that year. In pacing round the half of the town from the Merdin Kaputsi (or Gate) to the Dag Kaputsi on the opposite side, I had an opportunity of estimating its circumference at about five miles and three quarters, the only criterion of judgment I could obtain in respect to the number of its inhabitants. Supposing, therefore, on this estimate, that one third of the contained area is occupied by streets, the remainder would be equal to 11,000 houses, each seventeen feet square, and two stories high; which, at the rate of five persons to each house, would amount to about 55,000 souls; a scale of judgment and a result which would very nearly correspond with the like estimates where the population is exactly known. At Bagdad, for example, it would give a population of upwards of 200,000 souls; but a greater part of the city is unoccupied, which has induced the more moderate estimate we have adopted. At Bussora, the result would be very nearly the same, if the calculation were confined to those parts of the town which are built up.

On the 24th, we set off at one P. M. for Arguna. It had been raining the whole of the morning, with the greater part of the pre-

ceding night ; and as part of our route lay through marshy ground, it may be conceived it was not all the whipping in the world that could help us forward. The roads were knee-deep in mud, and frequently much more ; every brook had swelled into a torrent, which we were often obliged to swim ; and before the night had set in, our horses were so jaded and fatigued, that none but Tartars, I am sure, would have thought of urging them on. They were Tartars, however, that I was with, and on they went, though the escort we had brought from the town refused to proceed any further, and actually left us to our fate. In the four or five ensuing hours of perfect darkness, and of incessant rain, I do not believe we made as many miles, our horses falling under us at every step, and requiring the application of half-a-dozen whips to induce them to get up. At last, two of our party got so entangled in the windings of a rivulet, that, in attempting to disengage themselves by crossing the stream, they were carried away by its violence, and so entirely sobered by the fright, (for I believe they had all been drinking that morning,) as to consent to a halt. We had now been eleven hours exposed to constant rain, and had so entirely lost our way, that we knew not whether we were advancing or retreating. We were glad, therefore, on perceiving a light at a distance, to make for it through mud and water up to our saddles ; and after scrambling up some rocks, and forcing our horses over two or three broken walls, took refuge in a large cavern in the centre of ruins we found already occupied. The inclemencies of the weather had been such, indeed, that both friends and foes had taken shelter there ; and as part of the company were Christian merchants and travellers, so the rest, it was soon found, were of that description who live by travellers ; a circumstance we availed ourselves of immediately, as an excuse for driving them all out into the rain. The space was not large enough, certainly, for accommodating the whole of our party ; but I must do our Tartars the justice to observe, they were *strictly impartial* in the expulsion, turning out believers and honest men with as little remorse or hesitation as they evinced towards the rogues and infidels.

In this miserable cave, up to our knees in mud and filth, drenched to the skin, almost starved, and nearly suffocated by the smoke of our fire, we spent the remainder of the night; the bag that contained the heads we had with us serving me *as a pillow to rest my own upon*. It may be conceived the wretchedness was great indeed, that could seek for such a refuge, and esteem itself fortunate: our ill luck, however, was not yet at an end, as, on resuming our course in the morning, the rain set in as hard as ever, whilst the fog was so thick, that (being without guides) we lost ourselves a second time; and so employed ten hours more in reaching Arguna at the foot of Mount Taurus. The distance is commonly performed in thirteen hours; but we had thus been twenty-four on the road, and twenty-one on the move, without victuals, constantly in the rain, and frequently obliged to swim our horses across the stream. I had often, in India, observed the rapid increase of our mountain rivulets, but had never witnessed so unexpected a fall of water as I noticed in this march; a river coming so suddenly down upon us, (where scarce a bed could be traced,) that it seemed as if some inland sea had broken its bounds to inundate the plain beneath, whilst the rear of our party were up to their girths, where the front had scarcely wetted their horses' hoofs.

Arguna, like Merdin, is situated at the top of a lofty hill; but the fog continued so thick, and the rain poured so incessantly, that had I not been in want of rest, I could not have made any other observations whatever. It is famous for its wines, as is the whole of the range of Mount Taurus, and the plains of Karpoot on the further side. I was informed their vineyards produced a great variety, but could only procure a small pitcher of fragrant red, which the most celebrated presses of Burgundy might have been proud to acknowledge.

On the 26th, at eleven A. M., we mounted fresh horses, the principal Tartar, with the Caputchee Baschi, the heads, and five or six others, riding off in front. The road was hilly, stony, and difficult, until one P. M., when we crossed a branch of the Tigris (here a mountain rivulet) over a bridge of three arches, and commenced, at once,

ascending the principal range of Mount Taurus; the former part of our course having been over inferior hills. At two P. M. we crossed a second bridge of two very lofty arches, and reached Maden, a large village in the side of Mount Taurus, celebrated for its copper mines, and the centre of a Pashalic under the superintendant of the mines. At five P. M. we passed a third bridge, of a single arch; and at six P. M. halted at a wine press on the top of Mount Taurus, having been seven hours on the rise, and at as quick a rate as the difficulties of the ascent would allow.

From Maden, we had been constantly in the snow; and as there was no road whatever, and we were always on the brow of a dangerous precipice, it may be conjectured I had enough to think of without enquiring after my companions who had ridden in front, or even noticing their absence. When I had taken possession of the fire-side, however, and had been presented with a flowing cup of perfect nectar by our hosts, I began to wonder at not seeing them; especially as the Tartar servant had also disappeared, and left me with the baggage and two uncouth savages, whom I scarcely knew or could even understand. I asked where my Tartar was, and was informed he had gone off for Constantinople, then distant about eight hundred miles; a joke of theirs to frighten me, as I thought, but which turned out perfectly correct. The rascals had ridden on as hard as they could in a wild frolic; and having obtained information of some travellers being in front, who were likely to carry the news of Daood Effendi's success to the Sultan much sooner than themselves, had pursued their course to overtake and pass these messengers, with no other ceremony than leaving word I was to follow with the baggage. Left to myself amongst strangers, and at so great a distance from every kind of assistance, in a wild unknown country, and at the top of Mount Taurus, it may be thought my situation was equally distressing and uncomfortable: quite the contrary: the wine was good, my quarters excellent, the packages we had with us of too much value to be left in danger, which made it plain I had nothing personally to apprehend. My two ruffians, I saw, indeed, were more

inclined to laugh at my expense than to help me on ; and being decked with a *little brief authority* over the beasts of burden and the merchandise, seemed to think they might copy their absent lords, give themselves airs, and seize the first cup, the best horse, the cleanest carpet, and the most honourable seat near the fire. As I had felt the inconvenience of all this, however, with their betters, who were far more civilised, and had never submitted to these assumptions where it was possible to avoid it, I determined, at once, to reduce them to their station as servants, or to come to an open rupture, and proceed on by myself; an object I effected with ease, by paying our hosts for every thing we had, and by assuming a degree of importance and determined pride, which accorded with the expense I put myself to, and kept them in order.

27th. — We began descending the mountain at five A.M. I have said nothing as yet of the difficulties of the ascent ; because though great, they were such trifles to the dangers we now encountered, as scarcely to have left an impression behind. The height of Mount Taurus, it is known, is commonly estimated at upwards of 10,000 feet ; and as the Turks seldom trouble themselves to seek roads to the right or left, the beaten track (for there is no road whatever) goes directly over the hills ; generally, I believe, over the worst and most dangerous ground that could have been chosen. The snow at the time we passed was six or eight feet deep, except where it had been trodden down and had frozen ; and as this beaten path was not above eighteen inches wide, frequently less, and on the brink of a dreadful precipice, if we swerved ever so little to the right or left, or missed a single step in sliding down this frozen course, it was in the dreadful certainty of being buried in the snow, or dashed to pieces down the yawning abyss. In ascending a mountain, dangers of the kind are never so much felt ; but in going down, I could not but wonder at the steadiness of my two companions in keeping their saddles, and in assisting the Soorapgees to drive the bat-horses on. For my part I was often inclined to dismount, but would not for very shame ; and so did my best to keep up with my Tartars and the guides. All my

efforts, however, could not have prevented my being left in the rear, and perhaps lost, had not one of the Tartars, who were now extremely civil, assisted me with a lesson in horsemanship, I should never otherwise have dreamt of practising. In England, when we descend a hill, we generally hold our horses up, and proceed at a moderate cautious pace; with the Tartar it is directly the reverse: he throws his bridle on the horse's neck, and spurs and flogs him on at every step; a practice that forces the animal from his natural timidity, and gives his fore-feet, perhaps, a firmer hold, on being dashed with restive fretful violence to the ground. A few trials, and *the necessity* of keeping up, soon gave me confidence; and we reached the bottom in five hours, with the loss of only one horse; which was dashed to pieces down a precipice, and carried away almost immediately by the rapidity of the torrent that foamed beneath. In four hours more, (making a total of nine hours for the morning,) we crossed two plains with their intervening range of low hills; and at two P.M. reached Karpoot, the ancient Charpote, a considerable town in the valley of Sophene, defended by a castle, and belonging, intervening with the districts, to the Pashalic of Maden.

At Karpoot we only halted two hours and a half to refresh ourselves and procure horses; beginning from this day a course of hard riding, which entirely precluded observations of every kind. We mounted again at half-past four P.M., and rode over a hilly difficult country (the last five miles along the banks of the Euphrates) until five A.M. on the morning of the 28th, when we halted at Euxooly, a small town on the east bank of the river, inhabited by Koordish boors; and also called, I believe, Teiz Oghlou. We had thus been on horseback twenty-one hours and a half in the twenty-four; and were now again joined by the servant belonging to our principal Tartar, whom they had left behind; and who now assumed the command of our party: a Turkish noble of rank, (Hamud Beg Effendi, brother-in-law to Little Solyman Pasha,) who was flying from Bagdad and Daood Effendi's wrath, also requesting to accompany our troop with the nine or ten attendants he had with him.



28th — After five hours rest and breakfasting, we mounted at eleven A.M. for Malateea, the ancient Miletene, distant six hours, or about twenty miles; when being well mounted, and anxious to ascertain the practicability of getting on by myself, I distanced my companions by a full hour, and rode alone through the town to the Menzil Kaneh; where I soon found that for my money I could be as well received as with a dozen Tartars at my heels. Malateea, once the capital of Asia Minor, though in its decay, is still a considerable town; we left it again, however, at seven P. M., and after riding for five hours as hard as we could, reached a village called Hassun Badrick at twelve at night; a place where as the women are not remarkable for their chastity, so the men are infamous for the most unnatural practices; and, as my companions averred, are neither Christians nor Mahomedans, but the most abhorred and profligate infidels.

The Tartars have a very peculiar and a very harassing way of riding, I think, in performing these extraordinary long journeys. Where a relief of horses can be procured, they set off at an ordinary pace, and every man smoking his chubook; which as the pipe is going out they gradually increase into a trot. But as hard trotting cannot well agree with this sedentary pastime, as the motion accelerates, they gradually put by their pipes, commence a noise with their tongues very similar to that made by the horse himself in this pace; and after a while set up a hideous and continued shout, flogging their neighbours' horses and their own as if they were mad, and riding furiously until the horse is ready to drop under them. On this they gradually pull up, walk, smoke, sing, trot, canter, shout, and gallop at full speed; until it is again necessary to pull in. Whatever the distance may be, the practice is invariably the same when they are riding post; and if I might judge from the exertions our horses made, in marches of twelve or fourteen hours, it is probably the best calculated of any to reach their destination through such roads in the shortest possible time.

29th. — We rode for seven hours over a wild, hilly, romantic country to Hakim Khan; where, to my astonishment, after all our pre-

vious exertions, we halted for the night in a miserable hovel. I could not at first conceive the reason of this sudden change, but was soon led to suspect, from the complaints of our new friend the Effendi, and from his weariness, it was entirely on his account that we passed the more considerable towns, (where comfortable accommodations might have been procured,) to put up in such wretched villages. In the large towns, it seems, his dignity was hurt at putting up in the post-houses; in the smaller villages he was unknown. Our marches might have been divided far more conveniently; and as his presence was equally intrusive and inconvenient, his attendants seizing the best horses, and the best of every thing for their lord, though it was useless to contend, I determined to part company with him as soon as possible.

On the 30th, we rode for four hours over a hilly country, to Hassan Chilliby, where we breakfasted; and again for seven hours through the snow to Hallujah Khan, a small dirty square fort, where we spent the night.

On the 31st, a second fall of snow having taken place during the night, (so as entirely to obliterate every trace of the former beaten path,) we found it extremely difficult to get on; our horses frequently sinking in the snow up to the saddle, and one unfortunate animal in his struggles rolling down a precipice with his load, and injuring himself so seriously, that we were obliged to leave him behind to die or be devoured by the wolves. After seven hours and a half, however, we reached Delliki Tash, where being shown into a miserable hovel, whilst the Effendi was lodged in the best house in the town, I thought it only just to share his good fortune as he had *more than shared mine*, (having, in truth, often taken every thing,) and so followed him with as little ceremony as he had commonly observed. The attendants, indeed, were for keeping me out, but holding it always best to assume a *certain degree of hauteur* on such occasions, I made an ostentatious display of my arms, drew myself up to my full height, and trailing my weighty sabre on the ground, passed on, as if unmindful or unheeding their interference. It was

well for me that I did so: I got a most excellent dinner and comfortable lodging for my pains; whereas, had I shown my companion too much deference and delicacy, (as the Turks have very little indeed,) he would have measured my consequence exactly in the inverse ratio to my good breeding, taken every advantage of me, and perhaps insulted me to boot.

On the 1st of April we rose at one in the morning, and after a march of nine hours over a good road, crossed the bridge over the Sullah and reached Siwas, a considerable, but very dirty and meanly built town, at the northern extremity of a fertile valley where very fine horses are bred. I had an opportunity of seeing several: they were in general about fifteen hands high, well calculated for cavalry, uncommonly strong and well built, and very high spirited. In the evening, having purchased bread for the journey, (a very necessary precaution on leaving Siwas,) we proceeded onwards for three hours, and crossed a high volcanic mountain; making seven hours and a half more during the night to a large caravanseray and a small village, where we slept. Distance for this day nineteen hours and a half.

On the 2d, we rode five hours and a half, (the first three hours over hills covered with pine trees,) to a small farmers' village; where we breakfasted on some excellent brown bread, thick cream, wild honey, and a variety of other rural dishes of the same kind; being waited upon by the old farmer, his sons, and his old dame, and peeped at from behind a skreen by many a black-eyed damsel. The condition of the peasantry in Mahomedan countries has often, I think, been misunderstood: the evils of a despotic sway, I rather apprehend, (where the despot is not also a tyrant,) are chiefly felt within the gloom of its own dark abodes. Beyond the immediate influence of those rays which should illuminate, but only kill, it is the repose of sleep; a condition not very honourable to the dignity of our nature, though perhaps equally compatible with peaceful and domestic happiness. The Turkish peasant in these plains (if not all over the

empire) is well clothed, well fed, lodged in substantial, extensive buildings, surrounded with fertile, well cultivated lands, with numerous droves of valuable cattle, and enjoys the advantages of one of the finest climates in the world : is he not happy ? Abstract theory will say no, because he still remains a slave ; facts and personal observation will, I believe, assert the contrary, because he has never known another state. What is the condition, and what *must* be the condition of the labouring classes, in the freest governments we are acquainted with ? Theirs is the privilege (as I believe Dr. Johnson has observed) “ to work or starve : ” this, in truth, is the full extent of the liberty which they enjoy : they may work, or they may starve, and they cannot even always work for those they choose ; but whilst their condition is such, in every variety of climate and country we are acquainted with, we may, I believe, assert, “ that labour is happiness, which can secure abundance.” The peasant, indeed, if he attends diligently to the support of his family, has no idle time to spare for the delusive speculations of abstract theory : he feels much oftener than he thinks : removed from the immediate observation of its agents, the weight of despotism presses not so heavily on him as on the wall-girt citizen : his retirement is comparative freedom ; and as it is in towns and large assemblies only that tyranny can seek and find its victims, so it is from extensive and populous cities in general that (galled with the present deformity of arbitrary sway, and confident in mutual strength) the spirit of liberty walks forth to avenge the insulted rights of nature and humanity. Happy, indeed, if in the sacred enthusiasm the call inspires, it is only recollected that “ *true liberty* consists in the power of doing that only which the law permits.” \*

On leaving those peaceful scenes, which have occasioned these observations on the condition of the peasantry, in the more favoured regions of this extensive empire, we proceeded for five hours and a

\* Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, lib. xi. chap. iii.

quarter over a good road to Tokat. \* I had expected we should have halted there; but we only exchanged horses, and rode on for eight hours more over a good road to Tuskhal, the ancient Sebastopolis; a journey of eighteen hours and three quarters in the twenty-four.

3d.—The Effendi had taken possession of the Tartar servant I had with me, directed our motions at his will, and avoiding all the great towns, still persisted in putting up in the most wretched villages. Heartily tired of his company, therefore, I desired him plainly to proceed on by himself, and to select what Tartar he pleased, leaving me my own, whom I offered to remunerate if he would renounce the Effendi. A separation, however, was the last thing he would consent to: we had only one firman with us, which belonged properly to my party; and he had other views besides, which I now became gradually acquainted with. Hamud Beg Effendi, with all the airs he gave himself, was nothing more it seems than a fugitive. In his youth he had been purchased as a slave, and had been placed in the service of Old Solyman; where gradually rising to offices of the highest trust, he had at last obtained the government of Bussora; and had even been subsequently honoured with a sister of Little Solyman Pasha's in marriage. Of that class who pass under the yoke, to arrive at the first dignities, when Little Solyman was killed, he was for some time in disgrace with the good Abdullah; so that having been deeply implicated in those intrigues which displaced this virtuous chief, and raised Sayud Pasha to the Pashalic, he was naturally involved in this last disgrace, and on the list of the proscribed. Under these circumstances, he had fled the city during the siege; and with nine or ten attendants whom he picked up in his flight, thought himself fortunate in escaping with his head. When our party overtook him, and when

\* Tokat, the ancient Berisa, standing in a valley through which flows the Jézil Ermağ, formerly called the Iris, the largest city in the interior of Asia Minor, containing a population of 60,000 souls, and belonging to a female of the Grand Seignior's family. Vide M. K.

our principal Tartars, with the heads and the Caputchee Bashee, left me in the rear, to be the first to carry the intelligence, he was on his way, he said, to the capital, to make his story good, and to obtain an appointment from the Grand Seignior; that of Caputchee Bashee if he could: in which hopeful mission, he seemed to think he might be assisted by the influence of our ambassador at the Porte.

Having obtained this insight into the history of this mighty chief, and perceiving he was in no immediate danger, but only in the pursuit of ambition, he soon lost the interest which misfortunes generally command. And whose head, said I, will you first bring to the presence? Daood Effendi's! (the new Pasha's) he replied, beyond a doubt: he would have had mine, and is the sole cause of my not having been appointed to the Pashalic, my name having been originally inserted in the firman. When we arrived at Oostambole he continued; "You must introduce me to the English ambassador: I know by your bearing, (with other compliments a score or two,) you are a man of rank; though Faringees often travel alone in this way to obtain information. By the English ambassador's means, and my own interest, I shall obtain the appointment; and then, farewell to Daood Effendi! God being willing! (for God is always introduced amongst the Turks to sanction all such atrocities,) I shall immediately strike off his head, and succeed in his stead of course." With his own head so very lately in jeopardy, and when addressing one of such moderate pretensions as myself, (notwithstanding the carriage I had assumed for *my own convenience*,) I thought the request moderate enough; so being satisfied as to his motives for intruding himself on me, *i. e.* the convenience of the firman, and the *hopes of the Pashalic*, I told him plainly there was only *one* objection to the thing, — his having forced himself on me, and his having taken my Tartar against my will; a liberty English officers were not accustomed to allow. Desiring him, in conclusion, to leave me to myself, and threatening my Tartar I would complain to our consul and to Hallut Effendi, (the

Grand Seignior's favourite, and this gentleman's enemy,) unless he would consent to our proceeding on alone. Startled as they all appeared at the high tone I assumed, they reproached me bitterly for my ingratitude, after the Effendi had so often allowed me to sit at the same table with himself; a reproach I thought perfectly ridiculous, as, intrusion apart, a Pasha is only a governor, and this gentleman, at any rate, only a Pasha in embryo.

I have mentioned this little anecdote at length, as indicative of the manners of the East; where these turbaned infidels seem to think the rank they assume *as believers*, a sufficient apology for every kind of intrusion and insolence. Accustomed as I was, however, to deal with them, and deriving many advantages from the haughty deportment I had observed, and the habits of my life, the utmost I could obtain was a delusive promise of greater attention to my wants and wishes, in regard to horses and the ordering of our daily halts. Had I seized a horse and rode off, I might perhaps have carried my point, as it was not for *their interest* to attack me; but one to twelve, it would have been a dangerous experiment. I had had a fray of the kind on the way, with a wild uncivilized Tartar, who had grossly insulted me; but had thought myself fortunate in the end, in having done him no injury; as my attendant assured me I might have fared very indifferently from the rest, had not a timely interference prevented mischief. Such are the little inconveniences the European traveller must submit to, in wandering amongst these barbarians unprotected as I was by an official mission. In general I was treated with civility, but only because I always assumed a very determined tone; or made myself at home when my wants were not attended to, in a manner that showed a careless indifference as to consequences.

When we set off at break of day this morning, having secured an excellent horse in consequence of the stipulations I had entered into, I determined to preserve this advantage, by distancing my companions, and being the first to change. I set off, therefore, by myself, trusting entirely to the sagacity of my steed, and after a

ride of three hours over a good road, and through a hilly romantic country, reached a woodman's hut in the forest, where I alighted without ceremony, procured a cup of coffee, and mounting again as soon as my companions arrived, rode on as before for six hours more to Amasia; where having been directed to the post-house, I left my horse, and proceeded to the bath. Amasia is a very large straggling town, in a narrow valley between high mountains, and occupies, with its numerous gardens, the two banks of the Jizil Ermêk. On a reference, I find it celebrated as the birth-place of Strabo\*, and for some ancient tombs of the kings of Pontus, to which kingdom it formerly belonged. In the evening, we rode on for nine hours more, making a total of eighteen hours for the day, over a good road, and through a level flat country, to Marsowan, where we slept for a few hours. It is still a considerable, though dirty town, and is supposed by M. Kinneir to be the same with Phasemon, a city of Pontus, celebrated for its mines.

On the 4th, we rode over a high romantic country, (halting only half an hour on the road to breakfast,) for fourteen hours, to Osmanjik; a city inhabited by a very coarse, unmannerly race, situated on the banks of the Kezil Ermêk, remarkable for its ancient castle, for a very beautiful bridge over the river, said to be the work of Sultan Bajazet, and formerly known (if our authority holds good) under the name of Pemolis. In the evening, and during the night; we rode on for nine hours more, (making a total of twenty-three hours in the twenty-four,) and passing through a narrow defile cut in the solid rock, to Hajee Hamza; a small square fort said to be the ancient Andrappa, and situated on the Kizil Ermêk.

On the 5th, we only rode thirty miles, over a good horse road, and through a fine country to Tosia; where we met a Persian of rank returning home, and a Maltese who spoke a little French, who accompanied me through the bazars. I have mentioned several

\* Who calls the river it is on the Iris; and gives a magnificent description of the place. Lib. xii.



instances of our lawless course : I had this day another proof of the little ceremony the Turkish and Tartar officers observe in supplying their wants by force : I was, as usual, (when well mounted,) several miles in front by myself, when the Tartar, who always rode on before to order horses, returned at speed, enquired after the rest of the party, and after a moment's inward consultation, primed his pistols, examined mine, and desired me to follow him. I had expected at first we were about to be attacked : quite the contrary. At a sudden turn we met three men tolerably well armed, and leading a string of fifteen horses ; when riding up, and presenting our pistols ready primed and cocked, (before they could be prepared,) we seized the six or eight best we could select ; with a threat of shooting the first man who should resist. It was the work of a moment ; and we had got through this notable exploit almost before I had time to recollect myself. I had naturally expected my services on this occasion would have been rewarded with a chosen steed, my own horse being nearly blown ; with unparalleled effrontery, however, the laughing knave informed me they were all intended for the Effendi and his suite ; which, considering it a very unfair proceeding, and entirely at variance with the proverb that recommends honesty amongst those of *a certain class*, I resented, by transferring my saddle to one of those I held, and immediately rode off. The Effendi and the rest I thought would have been highly incensed at this cavalier proceeding, but in Tosia I knew myself secure ; and found in the end they were more inclined to laugh than cavil at the joke ; being indeed entirely indifferent to all I did, and very seldom embarrassing themselves with religious distinctions, provided I was always ready to assist them in their frays. We were all soldiers and travellers, the Tartar said, on being laughed at by some of the others : the Faringee had helped to seize the horses ; and though it *was right* to take every thing we wanted *from strangers*, it was folly for companions to quarrel amongst themselves. Such the morality he held forth. The very next day, however, (as had happened before amongst them,) on some casual disagreement with

with another Tartar, he drew a sabre the Effendi had given him, wounded the fellow in the head through his calpac before he could be prepared, and commenced a furious attack, which we could only interrupt by throwing ourselves sword in hand betwixt the combatants.

On the morning of the 6th, we rode to Cojee Hissar, a distance of eight hours; next eight hours more to Karajowan, a small town in a fertile well cultivated plain; and at night four hours more, (making a total of twenty hours for the day,) to Karajolar, where we slept a few hours, and where I met with an accident, (by mistaking places) which cannot be related, but which might have cost me dear indeed had I been found out; and which should serve as a warning to every traveller, *to conform in every thing*, (in their most private moments, as in public,) *to the customs and manners* of the country they travel through.

April 7th. — The weather for the last two or three days had again set in exceedingly cold. We left Karajolar in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, and passing a new handsome town, where we drank coffee, made directly for the passes over the Olympian range. At first, our route lay through an open country, where, notwithstanding the depth of the snow and the want of a beaten track, our horses picked their way with wonderful sagacity. We met a party of travellers who advised us to return, having themselves been part of a day and the whole night on the road, and in very great danger, even before the last heaviest fall. Whether it was from obstinacy, however, or a resolute disdain of every kind of fatigue and exposure, our Tartars decided we should go on. Being well mounted, the Effendi and myself soon left the rest in charge of their four or five loaded mules; and endeavoured to overtake the guide and Tartar who were in front, to accompany them into Hamamlee. They had not set off above half an hour before us, and we had once obtained no very distant sight of them; the snow, however, was falling so thick around us, that we soon lost every trace of their horses' hoofs; so that being equally separated from our other companions, we crossed the lofty Olympus by ourselves, and wandered

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until dark amongst the mountains; often on the narrow dangerous ridge which overhung the precipice, and in the momentary expectation of being dashed to pieces or buried in the snow, if we swerved a step only from the narrow path we could not see, but left our horses to find out. After sixteen hours in performing a march which commonly requires nine or ten, we reached Hamamlee at night; and were overtaken before morning by the rest of our party, who gave the most dismal accounts of the difficulties they had encountered, and mentioned the loss of another horse.

On the 8th we rode through heavy snows, but nothing equal to those of the day before, to Gerida, distant ten caravan hours, through a fine country, passing one small town, and stopping twice to drink coffee at small log huts where it may always be procured. As we could obtain no change of horses, we halted for the night; and I spent half an hour in walking over the town, which contains nothing remarkable, and is entirely built of wood.

9th. — We set off very badly mounted, for Boli, the ancient Hadrianopolis, distant thirteen caravan hours; which we got over in about nine, by dint of flogging. The road was tolerable; but we passed no villages or any signs of population for the first seven hours. Boli itself is a very convenient town to rest at, has a good post-house, an extensive bazar, and a small but clean and comfortable bath, which I visited; the plain immediately around being well cultivated, and full of villages; which are generally situated on the banks of a small navigable stream communicating with the Black Sea.

10th. — We set off worse mounted than ever, and my horse, as on the preceding morning, the very worst of the whole; indifferent horses, however, are never esteemed a sufficient apology for slow riding, when the contrary has been decided upon. The roads were execrable, our horses always knee deep in mud, and frequently getting caught (as in a trap) between the knotty roots of the forest trees. The unfortunate animal I rode was soon knocked up, and fixed to the ground, quite unable to extricate himself: we left him

to perish in the snow. The next I mounted was in appearance something less miserable: we came to better ground, and set off at full speed; flogging each other's horses, shouting and hallooing like madmen to force the wretched creatures on. Mine fell twice with me whilst proceeding at this rate: a multitude of blows soon brought him up: I had kept my seat: we never stopped. Within the next mile, he fell under me a third time, right on his head as if he had been shot, and rolled over me into a swamp, whilst I was left nearly senseless on the other side: the unfortunate creature was stone blind. I now insisted on a change, but the other led horses had all been used in consequence of similar accidents; and I was obliged to rest contented with my own: *such is the mode of travelling with Tartars overland*. I was happily blessed with a strong constitution, but these little incidents (otherwise uninteresting) should serve as a lesson to the adventurous, to measure their strength by the habits of their lives, before they undertake the journey on such slender funds as I could command. With a Tartar and servant to myself, with a proper equipment, and guards here and there, it might have been performed far more conveniently; unable, however, to secure these advantages, I had thought myself fortunate in meeting with such an opportunity; whilst, as my companions seldom regarded my wants, and chiefly prized my company for mutual protection and security, it is probable I might have been left behind on more than one occasion, had I not happily possessed the same physical powers of enduring fatigue with themselves. Dustchee, where we halted for the night, is only a collection of boutiques in the forest for the convenience of travellers; but the post-house is tolerably comfortable.

On the 11th, being still very indifferently mounted, we only rode for twelve caravan hours, through the forest and very bad roads, to Hendek; a small town, composed entirely of farm-houses surrounded by luxuriant orchards, which were even then shooting forth the blossom of expectation. The only objects deserving of attention we passed this day were two or three saw-mills worked by water; and where

the machinery used, though extremely simple, seemed to indicate a greater advance in arts and civilization than we might have been taught to expect from the wildness of the scenes around.

12th—Hendek is about one hundred and twenty miles from Constantinople, a distance my companions determined to perform without halting; they never dreamt, however, of letting me into the secret, so I set off quite unprepared in mental resolve for so arduous an undertaking. We crossed the Sangar by a wooden causeway and bridge, which only present a very insecure passage, indeed, over such a rapid stream. The next river (or perhaps the principal branch of the same) we crossed over the beautiful remains of a stone-bridge supported by arches; and with a lofty majestic arch (capable of admitting three carriages abreast) at either extremity. The stream itself seemed to have forsaken its ancient course: there was scarcely any water left in the bed, or any appearance of its having been filled for many years.

Sabanja, the first place we came to, twelve hours from Hendek, is on the banks of a beautiful lake, which the road winds partly round. It is a small place, and we only exchanged horses, setting off again immediately for Ismid, (the ancient Nicomedia,) which we approached by an ancient stone-way across the marsh. Ismid is ten caravan hours from Sabanja, on a rising peninsula which juts out into the sea of Marmora. It was quite dark when we got there, but we only exchanged horses and went on. During the night and the next morning, we rode the remaining sixty miles, exchanging horses once, passing Gebsa and Kortal on our way, leaving Chalcedon on our left; and reaching Scutari, (where our journey terminates), after having been for thirty-one hours, (from six A. M. on the 12th until one P. M. on the 13th) so constantly in the saddle, that we never dismounted except to exchange horses, and only partook of such food as we could eat on horseback.

THE END.

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